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1917

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS

1 — 187

1917

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Extract from the
Report on English & Vernacular
News papers reports for the year
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6th Jan to 17th Feb 1917

(Pages 1 — 187)

REPORT ON
ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS EXAMINED BY THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, MADRAS,
and on
VERNACULAR PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 6TH JANUARY 1917.

No. 1 of 1917.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao as a Home Ruler.

13. United India and Native States, for the week ending 21st December, writes:--"A correspondent writes to a local contemporary that Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao will attend the Lucknow Congress as a delegate from Tanjore. There is a certain incongruity in the author of the Mysore Press Laws and the upholder of autocracy in its least pleasing form taking part in the people's National Assembly. As Diwan of Mysore Mr. Madhava Rao consistently flouted Indian public opinion and evidently he now wants to make amends for his past contempt of his educated countrymen's views on public questions by posing as a 'leader of the people' and an ardent apostle of Home Rule for India."

Writing on this subject, the Karnataka, for the week ending 23rd December, says:--"Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., has written a lengthy letter in the Madras Mail of the 21st instant on 'India's Duty in the Present

Crisis'..................He is emphatically on the side of self-government; and well might he be so, for he may no more have the chance of passing a Press Act or brow-beating a Representative Assembly. In all his discourse on the need for self-government for British India, it is remarkable that he has not made a single reference to the administration of Native States, of which he knows so much. All he has said is the common stock-in-trade of every Indian reformer; and while no one can complain about this, it was naturally to be expected that he would contribute something distinctly his own, being a man with practical administrative experience of so many years and in so many places. Mr. Madhava Rao has hit two birds with one stone--he has bespoken his loyalty and he has, at the same time, made common cause with Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. This is no doubt much better than being a mere loyalist, and like Sir Seshayya Sastri, ridiculing the 'penniless patriots.' No one can help admiring Mr. Madhava Rao's energy and desire to be in the fighting ranks, and we continue to think that he would be rendering a greater service to India by espousing the cause of the people of Native States and by exposing the autocratic, bureaucratic and other evils they are now groaning under."

16. The Indian National Congress, 1916. (6th para)

The Hindu, of the 1st January, writes:--"The Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress which came to a most successful termination on Saturday last will ever be remembered as a great occasion, as a distinguishing landmark in the history of that glorious

institution. It saw the consolidation of the several forces in the country tending, each in its own way, to the fulfilment of the two main objects of every súch effort, the development of Indian national unity and the securing, by constitutional agitation, for India the rights, privileges and obligations of a self-governing nation.). . . . . .The memorable gathering is, therefore, of such momentous importance and so full of significance that it is necessary that its main features should be thoroughly and clearly explained for the benefit of the English democracy which is rightly credited with sympathising with peoples struggling for liberty. May we also hope that the lessons of the unique assembly will not be lost upon the enemies of Indian progress in England and India who disgrace themselves before the world by opposing and ridiculing the noble desire of Indians for full development. (In the first place, the number of delegates that attended the Congress from all parts of the country, representing all interests and communities, was unprecedently large, bearing eloquent testimony to the growing national consciousness of the people and the realisation of the unique importance of this session. In the second place, the re-union effected between the two classes of Indian reformers, usually, but mistakenly, called moderates and extremists--the line dividing them having, by force of circumstances and the quick march of events, almost disappeared--has given to the deliberations of the Congress an added importance, dignity and prestige the high value of which cannot be exaggerated. Again, the spirit of conciliation, compromise and concord animating the leaders of the two great communities in India and the wisdom, political sagacity and statesmanship shown by them, have brought

about a remarkable change in political outlook in India which is pregnant with possibilities of enduring benefit to India.) . . . . . . .Is English statesmanship so poor in quality, so blind, unresponsive and perverse as not to see with a clear vision, the trend of modern thought and action in regard to the legitimacy of aspirations for nationhood on the part of people all over the world and perceive that India has not, and cannot be expected to have been, uninfluenced by those great movements. The answer to this question and the peace, good government and prosperity of India must depend upon the attitude of Great Britain towards the demands made at Lucknow last week. The work before us is tremendously difficult and is such as to tax the utmost energies of patriots. The English public should be told how earnest, widespread and sincere is the desire of Indian peoples to become a self-governing nation, and how the cant of unfitness indulged in by reactionaries is hollow and interested. . . . . .Placed on a broad basis of representation, there should be absolutely no apprehension that the Indians will not acquit themselves as well as people in other countries which enjoy autonomy, and, in any case, it should be clear to the meanest understanding that the transference of power from an alien bureaucracy, which is out of touch with the people, ignorant of their language, customs and manners and, in consequence, unable to sympathise with them, to a body, educated, animated by a lofty sense of patriotism and being of the people, will result in greater and lasting good to the country. The argument against political progress based on the heterogeneous millions committed to the charge of the British is the veriest nonsense that could be advanced at this time of the day. . . . . . . , . .

We must say that the weakest point in the deliberations of the Congress is the omission to formulate a definite plan of propagandist work in England and in India. Both the Congress and the League have recommended that an Indian deputation should be sent to England, while the former has suggested to its Standing Committee the consideration of the desirability of holding a session of the Congress in England."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 1st January, says:- "The Lucknow session of the Congress has terminated in so successful a manner that all who have contributed to its success are to be heartily congratulated. The two parties who separated at Surat have been re-united, the Hindus and Muhammadans have been brought together in perfect goodwill. And the voice of the Congress can now claim to be the united voice of India. We feel glad and happy at the result. In spite of the fears created by certain activities abroad, the deliberations of the Congress have been marked by harmony, and the Congress has maintained its traditional political sense and moderation. . . . . Of the rest of the resolutions passed by the Congress, not one is there which is open to objection. It was feared that a novel resolution on the Public Service examination would be foisted on the Congress by some good people who, as we have admitted, have certainly logic on their side; but there is no sense in committing the Congress to a policy which is so novel. If we think that, for appointments in India, those who are not of India should come here to undergo the competitive examination, and that no English experience should be needed, as we have hitherto admitted,

there is no harm in our saying so. But even in saying what we believe, we ought to be able to show consistency. The Congress cannot blow hot and cold, and we wonder who they may be that suggested the novel idea of one examination in India for our Civil Service. Happily, for the credit of the Congress nothing further was heard of the resolution which seems to have oozed out of the Congress agenda. In the reports that were telegraphed to us, no information was furnished on this interesting development. In all respects, therefore, the Congress seems to have gone off very well, the delegates dispersing in a happy spirit."

25. India and the Special War Conference (Second para)

The Hindu, of the 27th December, states:--"It is with deep disappointment that the Indian public will receive the announcement made by the Government of India, published elswhere, that India will not be directly represented in the Special Imperial Conference which His Majesty's Government have summoned. It is nothing less than mockery to say that India will be represented by the Secretary of State, especially as the knowledge of Indian aspirations and sympathy with the same of the present incumbent of that office are too well-known to be viewed with complacency. It is true that the Viceroy has been requested to select two Indians to advise the Secretary of State, but unless India is allowed to send her elected non-official representatives to put her views directly before the Conference and take as free a part as is allowed to the representatives of the Dominions

in the deliberations of the Conference, we do not think any representation will inspire confidence in the minds of the public. . . . . . . .India by her unique rally her enthusiastic support which is at least as much as that of the Dominions, and her splendid devotion to the cause of the Empire, has earned a right to be consulted regarding war organisation, peace terms and post-war problems. What do, then, the British Government mean by disregarding this great asset and thereby causing discontent of a kind which, at a time when great expectations are entertained and new hopes are surging in the breasts of Indians, is sure to be widespread and serious. We can only hope that at least the two representatives to be sent from India will be Indians."

The Hindu, of the 28th December, remarks:-

.. "Sympathetic as are the comments in the British Press regarding the representation of India in the Imperial War Conference, it is a pity they do not seem to realise that the proposed method of representation has not been viewed in this country as a matter for congratulation. . . . . .No one with any sense of humour can fail to be struck with the utter futility of India being represented by the Secretary of State. This official is a Member of the British Cabinet, and his opinion, good or bad, valuable or otherwise, must perforce be recorded for what it is worth as regards peace terms and post-war problems. The delegation of two gentlemen from India to play second fiddle to the Secretary of State does not alter the situation much for the better; for what India is interested in is

not in finding out whether the Secretary of State is invited or not to conferences discussing imperial problems, but in seeing that Indian public opinion is given its due place in the counsels of the Empire just as public opinion in the Dominions is at present sought to be treated. It is evident, therefore, that although the Dominions could and perhaps ought to be represented by their officials, the interests of India should be voiced forth in the Conference, not by European officials, but by non-official Indian gentlemen who alone could speak with the necessary freedom and authority on behalf of this country. We trust that His Excellency the Viceroy will do his best to see that at least the representation so far vouchsafed to us is not marred by injudicious nominations of his not calculated to serve the purpose to which they are proposed to be made."

26. The Hindu, of the 27th December, writes:--"We have previously written about the views of Mr. Curtis,

The Round Table.

according to whom, India will have no place in any scheme of Imperial Federation but will be governed by an Imperial organisation of which the Dominions, will be members along with the United Kingdom. This mischievous, preposterous and essentially unjust proposal has met with strong protests from the whole of India, including many Anglo-Indian organs. The views of the Government of India on this subject have not been publicly declared, but, consistency, self-respect and sound policy can suggest no other course to the Government but of steady, stout and stern opposition to the revolting suggestion. . . . . .Collaboration with an individual of the stamp of Sir V. Chirol could not

result in enlarging the views of narrow Imperialists like Mr. Curtis who, in addition, has started his elaborate study of Indian problems with a prejudice against India. What concerns us, however, is that Mr. Curtis asserts that the high officials whom he has consulted agree with his views in regard to Indian demands. We should, in the first place, resent, as being against public policy, the supply of official information and help to non-descript travellers who choose to ask for it. The antecedents of Sir V. Chirol and Mr. Curtis and their attitude towards Indian aspirations are known. And yet, high officials have feted them, furnished them with information which was meant to be used against India. They have done more. They have, over-riding rules of official reserve, declared themselves as holding, if we are to believe Mr. Curtis, views similar to those of Mr. Curtis. This is a situation which reflects little credit on the statesmanship of the high officers concerned or on their sense of what is due to the country which they have assumed the responsibility to serve. . . . . It is caluminous to a degree to say that educated Indians are lacking in political judgment; it is culpable ignorance again to assume that Indian opinion is not disinterested. If the result of his study of Indian affairs on the spot is only this letter which presents such an unreal picture of Indian political capacity, we can think of no more stupendous folly than has been committed by responsible officials who have given him materials which he has twisted and perverted for undesirable ends. . . . .
The talk of India being handed over to the mercies of the Dominions has caused the gravest apprehensions throughout India, and a translation of that cruel suggestion

into practice will have disastrous results and embarrass the Government of India in directions which may not be realised by short-sighted Empire-builders of the type of Mr. Curtis. Mr. Curtis speaks of the cultivation of hate in India against the Dominions. This betrays unpardonable ignorance of the Colonial history of the last decade on the part of an in itinerating Federation-maker who claims a close study of the affairs of the Dominions. The doctrine of hate was conceived and ruthlessly carried out in South Africa, and Indian resentment against it is evidently disliked by Mr. Curtis. The propaganda on which Mr. Curtis is engaged of giving India a subordinate position in the reconstructed Empire and subjecting it to the control of the Dominions, is repugnant to Indians and will embitter against them, the feelings which Mr. Curtis is anxious to appease. In the interests of peace and of good government, it is absolutely necessary that the authorities should emphatically deny any idea of subjecting India to the new humiliation, and we trust that the Congress will voice the sentiments of the Indian public in no uncertain manner."

The Hindu, of the 29th December, observes:- We should think Mr. Polak's splendid speech on the condition of Indians in the Colonies, or Dominions as they have recently come to style themselves, should give the quietus to the agitation set on foot by the Round Table group of Empire-builders, that is, if they really possess that amount of sympathy for Indian opinion which they appear so much to affect. . . . . Mr. Curtis, whose antecedents are now being laid bare and who is, as we have previously shown, the moving spirit of the movement

was responsible, so Mr. Polak says, for the origin of that most hated Legislative measure, the Asiatic Legislation in South Africa. It is no wonder that Mr. Polak styles his profession of consulting Indian opinion as hypocrisy of the first order. In the third place, and this is not the least important of our objection to Round Table politics, we shudder to contemplate the time when we should be deemed to be under the domination of the Dominions, in spite of all of our feelings, claims and fitness to be an independent component of the Empire. We sincerely wish we shall be spared at least this gratuitious indignity, insult and humiliation."

26. The Round Table. (4th para)

The Indian Patriot, of the 30th December, remarks:- "Mr. Curtis of the Round Table has not been in India for nothing. He has stirred feeling by his outrageous propaganda in which he is said to have received the encouragement of some Government officials. The object of the propaganda is to subject India to the overlordship of the self-governing Colonies; and Mr. Curtis has explained it in language which is calculated to do violence to the feelings and aspirations of the Indian people. . . . . .The movement is engineered in India under the auspices of the Round Table group, and we are surprised to read that in this business Government officials are taking part. The passage which Mr. Polak quoted is calculated to incense the people of India; and it is a wonder to us how such language could be tolerated at any time, and particularly at this time. We fear that

Government officials, if they are not grossly disloyal to their King, are most unconsciously helping a movement which runs directly against His Majesty's earnest behests and the consistent policy of His Government. The language which Mr. Polak quoted is strongly calculated to inflame the passions of Indians. A man like Mr. Curtis ought not to be allowed to remain in India, while he is engaged in zealously propagating ideas and sentiments which are hateful to the Indian population. . . . . It would be well if Government officials ceased to have any association with a gentleman who has come to India to insult its people."

The Hindu, of the 2nd January, states:- "Mr. Lionel Curtis has forwarded to us a copy of his letter which was recently published in the Indian press and his reply to the public criticisms thereon. Both these communications have already appeared in full in these columns: but we do not think these have in any way cleared our suspicions about the nature and magnitude of the mischief certain to be caused to this country by the adoption of Round Table politics. We are afraid Mr. Curtis' reply is no more satisfactory than the German Peace Note as interpreted by a Russian Minister the other day. It indulges in vague generalities and evades the real points at issue. The fact that his letter was a private one does in no way exonerate him from responsibility for the immense mischief his scheme is doing, so far, at any rate, as this country is concernec. . . . . .We consider we should have failed in our duty had we withheld publication of matter in time which, had it not been attended to early, would have resulted, may be in irreparable injury to India. To put a stop to widespread schemes, especially when carried on privately, which will in effect deprive

India of her legitimate rights or curtail her already scant freedom, is as well in the interests of good Government as it is to nip what is called youthful outbursts in the bud. Surely, no immunity would attach to anarchist propaganda, simply because the propagandists label the minutes of their nefarious meetings 'private' in bold type. Much less is a letter marked 'private' entitled to exemption from publication if it is printed in thousands and circulated, no doubt to friends, in all parts of the globe. . . . . .Again, if, as he says; Mr. Curtis had come really with a view to sound public opinion in India, the quarter in which he has sought assistance is, as he must have known, the least fitted for such a purpose. Had we not his candid confession that he not only took the opinion of reactionary bureaucrats but also had his drafts revised by them to their satisfaction, we should one day have been startled with the news that Indian public opinion, barring those of the few inevitable extremists, a proviso intended to give some colour of truth, was in perfect sympathy with the Round Table Reform scheme."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(h) Railways.

An untoward occurrence in the Allahabad Railway station.

51. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th December, gives the following account of what it calls an untoward occurrence in the Allahabad Railway station, in connection with the reception of the president of the Kayasta Conference by its delegates:- When the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya and the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru came to the Railway station to receive the President, the sale of platform tickets was stopped

and three police constables and a jamadar were stationed at the gate to inform them that only five persons including the Chairman of the Reception Committee could go into the station. Mr. Malavya at once telephoned to Mr. Murray, the Traffic Superintendent, that such an order was not legal; but that officer replied that he did not seek to know the law from Mr. Malavya. On this Mr. Malavya and Dr. Sapru refused to obey the order and going to the platform, spoke to the station-master who was standing there. He said that he had orders which he could not disobey, but that he would admit them both on the platform in addition to the five persons who were already allowed to be there.

53. With reference to the letter recently written and published by Mr. Curtis in Bombay,

The letter of Mr. Curtis.

the Swadesamitran, of the 27th December, says:- Mr. Curtis is a member of an association established in England and known as the Round Table. Under the auspices of this associat on, he has been travelling in South Africa and Australia and is now visiting the various parts of India, with a view to ascertain what the status of India should be in the new relations to be brought about between the Empire and its component parts Mr. Curtis is taking his lessons in the school of Sir Valentine Chirol, who is an enemy to the advancement of India and who has made himself prominent by his letter written to the Times some time ago on "unrest in India." Mr. Curtis is consulting the Governors of the United Provinces and Bengal and is moving intimately with several of the members of Government. He is also intending to visit several other places. His opinion is that, instead of India being governed as heretofore, the British Empire should share the

administration of India with the colonies. He is now trying to ascertain whether he is not right in entertaining this opinion. That is to say, he has already formed his opinion in accordance with his wishes and is now collecting arguments in support of it.

55. Referring to the reply given by Lord Chelmsford to the address of the Indian Association of Calcutta,

The Viceroy on the political advancement of India.

the Swadesamitran, of the 25th December, observes:- The Viceroy's reply will undoubtedly cause disappointment to the whole of this country. He admits that great expectations and high ideals have sprung up among the people, but says that the time has not yet come for their fulfilment. He has said on another occasion that it is possible for the people to set their hearts upon distant prospects and lose sight of the obstacles which lie at their feet, and that the condition of the man who tills the soil is a great obstacle which has to be surmounted first. Lord Chelmsford does not call in question our fitness for self-government. But it has to be inferred from his words that the grant of self-government to India depends not merely on our fitness for it, but also on the admission of it by those who are to grant it. From what the Viceroy has said, it is possible for India to obtain an equal footing with South Africa and Australia within a single space of human life. But as it is not possible for India to obtain such a footing unless self-government is given to her first, we may hope that Lord Chelmsford will see that self-government is granted to her. Knowing as he does how the mutual dis-

trust between the Government and the people which existed till recently has been completely removed by the conduct of India during this war, the Viceroy can have no reason to say that progress in this matter can only be slow. He must, therefore, have said so because he has not understand the forces existing in the country. He has spoken in accordance with the views of that section of the authorities whose powers will be curtailed by the grant of self-government to India. We cannot therefore expect much sympathy from Government of India in this matter, but must appeal to the British Parliament and the British public who have learnt to value our deserts.

57. With reference to the statement of Lord Islington

India and the Imperial ~~Commerce.~~ Conference.

in the House of Lords in connection with the Imperial Institute of London, that steps are being taken to increase the raw-products in India and that a Committee of representatives has been formed to advise the Government as to the means by which the commerce between the different parts of the Empire may be advanced, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th December, says:- Lord Islington has not stated who are the Members of this Committee, what facilities the different parts of the Empire are prepared to afford to one another, to what extent India will be taken into account in this matter and whether the obstacles which are already in the way of the advancement of India will be removed.

58. The Vokkaligara Patrike, of the 3rd January, writes:- Popular leaders in India were under the apprehension that this country might fail to be represented at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. These apprehensions have now been removed by the announcement that the Secretary of State will represent India assisted by two others chosen by His Excellency the Viceroy. Although this may not satisfy the patriots of the country, we must nevertheless rejoice to find that India has been accorded the exalted privilege of sending her representatives to the Imperial Conference. There would have been no room for discontent of any kind if the representatives were to be selected from among the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. It would have been fairer and more appropriate still, if the Native States, who have made such noble sacrifices of men and money in the cause of the Empire in the present crisis, were asked to send a representative each. We earnestly hope that the Imperial authorities will now at least see the value of this suggestion and accept it.

India and the Imperial Conference.

The Mysore Star of the 31st December, writes:- The representation of India by the Secretary of State will not be welcome to the people. It is some consolation, however, that India was admitted to the privilege of representation at a conference like this.

59. The Swadesamitran, of the 28th December, publishes

The future of India. the following remarks of the "Bengalee" on the letter written by Mr. Curtis:- Mr. Curtis says that India has leaders and also those that can make laws and carry them into effect, but there are not enough of voters possessing the necessary capacity or qualification for electing their representatives. He therefore thinks that India cannot be given self-government now. Self-government has prevailed in England since 1688 when a great revolution took place. From this we cannot say that there have been qualified voters in England all along. Have there been more educated persons in England under George IV than there are in India under George V? What was the constitution of the Government in England in 1821 and what is the constitution of the Government in India in 1916? Did the Emperor Mikado wait for an increase of qualified voters before he established parliamentary government in Japan? Did America hesitate to give self-government to the Phillipines for lack of qualified voters? If primary education is extended throughout the country, patriotic and qualified voters would increase in number here also. But even in the absence of the spread of primary education, the people of India have the capacity to know what is good to them and to choose their own representatives.

62. The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd December, writes:-

The Imperial Conference. While the new Prime Minister spoke in terms of high praise of the splendid assistance which the dominions had given to England in the present struggle, he had not spoken one word about the help rendered by

India. We are afraid that if the new Ministers should continue to show such attitude towards India, it would be most unfortunate for the Indians. Mr. Lloyd George has not even said that India's representatives will be invited to the Imperial Conference. Has the new Premier forgotten the promise made to India by Mr. Asquith's Government? We trust that the British rulers will carry out the pledges that they have made through Lord Hardinge.

The Imperial Conference.

Referring to the announcement that the Secretary of State for India will represent India at the forthcoming Imperial Conference, and that he will be assisted by two other representatives appointed by the Viceroy, the Andhrapatrika, of the 27th December, says:- It is of course gratifying that Mr. Chamberlain and his superiors in office are thus attempting to carry out the word of Lord Hardinge. But India cannot agree to the Secretary of State for India representing this country. Is it such a Conservative as Mr. Chamberlain that should represent India? Why should not one elected by the Indians be sent to the conference to represent this country? If the Indians were required to elect a European, they would indeed have elected Lord Hardinge. Do not the Indians deserve this concession at least?

The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th December, says:- The Secretary of State for India is himself an official representative of India at the Imperial Conference and there is no need for other official representatives assisting him. He attends exclusively to the interests of the Government and the western Trades Associations.

What now remains to be done is to place the non-official view of Indian affairs before the conference, and we pray that for this purpose two non-official Indian representatives may be sent to the conference to represent India.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd January, says:- At the Imperial Conference, certain important matters relating to the Government of the Empire will come up for discussion. A section of the English people are for giving the self-governing Dominions a share in the Government of the Empire. India, which is an ornament to the British Empire, is not to enjoy any such privilege. But no Indian will agree to the authority of the Dominions being imposed on India which is already sinking under the heavy burden of the bureaucracy.

64. **The Andhrapatrika, of the 25th December,** comments on the proceedings of the Indian National Congress as follows:- Both Pandit Jagan Narayana and Babu Ambika Charan Muzumdar have stated that a new spirit has come to exist in India and unless it is controlled by directing it in proper channels, it cannot fail to burn those that oppose it. India, according to them, should not even for one moment be dependent in its relationship with the Colonies. The President of the Reception Committee has pointed out that in the beginning, the English politicians changed their angle of vision and spoke in praise of India, but they have of late been silent over the Indian question so much so that their present

The Indian National Congress.

attitude has given rise to suspicion. He has stated that the Press Act cannot affect the determination of the Indians and the Defence of India Act cannot destroy their enthusiasm. The only reason, according to him, why education has not made any progress is that the Government have not taken any steps to spread it. When self-government was granted to South Africa, did racial and linguistic differences therein and other internal commotion stand in the wary? Were they not all overlooked? Shoudl such circumstances be deemed obstacles in the way of India getting self-government? Babu Ambika Charan Muzumdar said that if we were given a choice between a greater number of higher appointments for the Indians or a thorough change in the system of Government, we ought to choose the latter. Who will say no. Babu A.C. Muzumdar is indeed determined to destroy the bureaucratic system of administration which has executed its own will. May victory attend him!

VANDE MATARAM.

The Indian National Congress.

Referring to the letter addressed to the Congress Reception Committee by the Government of the United Provinces, warning the Congress speakers, against making disloyal speeches, the Desamata, of the 20th December, remarks:- Such a letter has never before been addressed by any Government in any Presidency at any time. This letter is very derogatory to the Congress leaders. It is regrettable that while for the last eight years, the Government have reposed confidence in the Congress leaders and honoured them, Sir James Meston of the United

Provinces has sent such a letter. For five or six years after the birth of the Congress, the Government looked upon it with great suspicion. Even in those days, they did not address such a letter. The chief reason why the Government of the United Provinces have adopted this strange course is perhaps that Mr. Tilak who seceded from the Congress at Surat had intended to join it at Lucknow.

In the course of its comments on the Swaraj resolution, the Andhrapatrika, of the 2nd January, remarks:- The Indians are the descendants of men of wisdom and culture and are not savages living in the forests. They have received training at thehands of the British Government for a hundred years. Dependence is opposed to national progress and self-respect. Self-government is the only means of salvation. Statesmen have stated that the goal of British Government in India is the establishment of self-government. The Dominions wish to share in the governance of the Empire on the termination of the war. The helplessness of India is known to all. There is nothing strange in the Indians requesting Government to remove this state of helplessness and grant self-government.

66. In the course of its leader on the Congress, the Andhraprakasika, of the 23rd December, remarks:-

Repressive measures.

By having recourse to such drastic and repressive measures as the Press Act and the Defence of India Act in order to put down political agitation, the rulers bring into memory the administration of Lord Curzon. Those who have forgotten themselves in the happy enjoyment of the sunshine of Swaraj cannot understand the troubles of those who suffer from the inclement weather of perpetual

dependence. . . . . .The papers and the leaders of society believe that the Non-Brahmans in Madras are making preparations with a view to oppose the Swaraj movement. It is quite untrue that the Non-Brahmans do not support the movement.

68. The Andhraprakasika, of the 23rd December, contains some verses from the pen of a correspondent under the heading "the awakening of India's sons", in which appears the following:- Is it fit that the sons should be quiet when their mother is seized by force? Is your valour to be consigned to flames? Is it not for protecting (the mother) and satisfying (her) desires, that sons are given birth to? . . . . . Show by learning and wisdom that the mother is cultured. That is fame indeed. Show by valour and courage the prowess of the mother. That is fame indeed. Relieve the mother of her sorrow and deserve to be called her sons.

The awakening of the sons of India.

70. In commenting on the speech of the President of the Indian National Congress, the Andhraprakasika, of the 27th December, says:- The rulers say that they have for the last one hundred and fifty years been giving us training in self-government. The Anglo-Indian papers however remark that we are as yet not fit for self-government. They ought then to say when we will be fit to receive it. If they do not, they should not talk about the matter at all. It is not proper that the Government should still keep silent over the question of granting self-government to the Indians. The time of making empty promises has gone. The discontent that the pledges of the sovereigns of England have not been ful-

Self-government.

filled has spread beyond all bounds. It is not a good policy to allow it to spread any more. Overmuch discontent will rather bring evil. Our rulers know it of course. The grant of self-government to the Indians will never make them disloyal, but will increase their unequalled loyalty. It is not a wise policy to lose this opportunity.

71. The Andhraprakasika, of the 27th December, has the following:- We happened to see a seditious leaflet written in Telegu by some anonymous devil of a man. We do not know who this sedition-monger is but his exhortations are exciting. In Bengal such things were making their appearance. The writer of this abhorrent pamphlet appears to have caught the contagion. Although it is certain that no harm will come out of the publication and circulation of such leaflets in hundreds of thousands, yet they may result in confounding the brains of the ordinary folk who may happen to read them casually. It is therefore the duty of the authorities to arrest and punish those wicked men who commit such seditious acts. We read a few days ago in the Ravi published at Cocanada that seditious books or leaflets had arrived there and that no one should read or possess them, and that such reading or possession was undesirable and punishable. We cannot say whether the proprietor of that paper had given that warning on looking into a leaflet like the one we have now seen or on hearing its contents, or whether he refers to any

Seditious leaflets.

other leaflet. As it is not proper that persons committing such acts should exist in the Madras Presidency, especially in the Madras City, it is the duty of those who have any information about the writer of a leaflet like the above, to communicate it to the Government.

82. The Quami Report, of the 26th December, writes:-

"The Viceroy and Mussalmans." The other day several societies presented addresses to Lord Chelmsford at Calcutta probably with the hope that the Viceroy would give some indication of his future policy. The Punjab Muslim League and the Central Muhammadan Association tried to exact a promise from His Excellency, but unfortunately both of them failed in the attempt.

Justly speaking the Muslim League is itself to blame for not mooting the question of Muslim rights, on the plea that this is war time, His Excellency in return said, "I appreciate your considerateness and regard is not putting forward the demands of your community." The League hoped that His Lordship would understand its hints and metaphor, and this hope has been realised, for His Excellency replied "I have already this morning given expression to certain ideas regarding the difficulties confronting Mussalmans in India." The editor thinks that the ideas referred to may be that "the present is not a fitting time to discuss the question."

We do not express any regret with reference to Lord Chelmsford's ideas, but we think that either the Mussalmans have not stated the situation clearly

or that the Government have taken an incorrect view of the matter. If Government is observing the condition of the country, and if the authorities are conscious of the potentiality of change in this age the special rights of Mussalmans cannot be deferred to some future date. The Mussalmans have been startled by the cry of Home Rule, but we regret that replies of this kind are inviting them not to entertain any vain hopes of Government"because it is impossible to satisfy every section."

Mussalmans have a special status and this status has a special importance. Their loyalty is not based on ordinary principles and they are not exhibiting such spiritual power in this sanguinary war as to merit His Excellency's appreciative reply in the following terms: "The Indian Army depends on Mussalmans for recruits and in the present worldwide war many have bravely fought and sealed their promise of loyalty with their blood." Every Mussalman is doubtless obliged to His Excellency for these noble sentiments, but what was expected was more interesting. We have already remarked that revolutionary power is working in the country, and if the Mussalmans are disappointed because of Governmental expediency and receive replies of this sort there will be an end of all hope. Their religion forbids them to break their promise; hence the result will be that they will join the party which is struggling constitutionally.

83. "The President of the Congress inopportune cry"

The Quami Report, of the 28th December, referring to the address of the President of the Congress, writes:- It is a very touching tome consisting of suggestions, proposals, grievances, demands and statements of

facts. More or less the contents are the same as those that are written on fleshy tables of the heart of every Indian.

The man who declares that he does not desire independence is a liar, he who ways he has no grievance is a sycophant, he who is conscious of no ambition is a base fellow, and above all is it true that the individual or nation that has recourse to improver means is an arch-rebel.

As the Home Rule the fact is we are certainly in accord with the idea, but we are first and foremost loyal servants of the Government of Islam and of the rule of the faith.

Although we are one with India's present and future hopes, we would not sacrifice the feelings of our faith on the altar of those hopes.

Although we are the friends of the sons of Mahabaratha we cannot wreck the ship of our national feelings in the ocean of their love and frienships.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 13TH JANUARY 1917.

No. 2 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

10. "The danger in India." (Second para)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 8th January, says:-"The Statesman of Calcutta calls itself the 'Friend of India', and shows-is its friendship by opposing every aspiration of Indians for freedom, every desire of Indians to rise to the status of other civilised nations. It is encouraged in its intransient attitude by Lord Sydenham's 'weighty' letter to the Times and his 'masterly' article in the Nineteenth Century; Lord Sydenham has eaten India's salt, but desires to keep her as a subject/ nation, so that his posterity may still batten on her . . . .
The Statesman calls on the Government of India to take measures to stop the Home Rule propaganda. Does it realise that it asks the Government to throw itself against the whole force of educated public opinion in India, organised in the National Congress and the Muslim League? Self-government will not be conceded 'at any date that can now be determined.' Is the Statesman subsidised by the anarchists that it thus proclaims the hopelessness of constitutional propaganda? Such a statement is really treasonable, as it strengthens the party of despair.

"The putting forward of the demand at the present time, says the Statesman, proves the unfitness of its advocates. Why? A free Poland is being discussed in the very midst of the welter of war. Why not a free India, far away from the struggle? The Round Table and Indian Civil Service conspiracy is being carried on, to place India under the heavy yoke of the dominions. Why not an open agitation against that menace of servitude?. . . . . .A nation determined to rule itself cannot be discouraged, for God is with those who desire to go forth from the house of bondage, and His voice sounds forth the ancient cry: 'Let My people go.' Our motto is: 'For God, Crown and Country,' and by the blessing of God, the assent of the Crown and the will of the Country, India shall gain Home Rule."

The Anglo-Indian press on the Congress.

13. The Hindu, of the 6th January, writes:--"The Statesman has a particularly venomous article on the Congress. It suggests that the Home Rule propaganda has been tolerated too long and calls on the Government to discourage the agitation. . . . . .The suggestion of impending trouble is as mischievous as it is ingenuous and the recommendation to the authorities to warn Indian leaders is gratuitous and unwarranted. The fact is that Anglo-Indians are beginning to see that Indian national unity is a reality, the influence of which they dread and abhor and such outbursts only indicate their desperate attempts to ridicule a great movement which has grown too strong to be affected by such feeble and ill-natured attacks. It is strange that the Anglo-Indian press has not been moved by the rapid change of thought and quick march of events and hugs to

itself its pet aversion to reforms which are bound to come. . . . . .Apart from the untrue and malicious nature of the attributes indulged in against what it calls the extremists, it is marvellous that our contemporary and the class of blind and perverse reactionaries it represents should be so grossly ignorant of the mighty changes that have come about in the Indian political world, sweeping away the distinctions between so-called Moderates and so-called Extremists between the Hindu and the Muhammadan. Unifying influences have brought about this striking phenomenon and the fact that Anglo-India hides itself ostrict-like, and fears to look facts in the face, cannot alter the situation or set back the tide of progress. . . . .
These newspapers, which consider themselves called on to uphold British prestige and domination, will serve the Empire better if they realise the true significance of the truce effected at Lucknow and cease to prate about the Indian unfitness and about the want of capacity in Indians for self-government. It is a dangerous game which will only result in embittering the already strained feelings and the Government cannot afford to look on, at this display of hatred and ill-feeling with indifference."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 6th January, says:- "The Anglo-Indian press has burst out into vituperation more furious than usual over the demands of the Congress, the point of greatest offence being the unanimity of the claims made. Hitherto the 'responsible leaders of Indian opinion'--who would never, never, never, commit themselves to the wild scheme of irresponsible agitators--have been held up as contrasts

to the impatient idealists and their Utopian dreams. Now, to its horror, the Anglo-Indian press discovers that the contrast is imaginary, that all that has been suggested by the most impatient of idealists--except one poor little one-fifth of the Legislative Councils during the transition stage--has been declared as the voice of India from the presidential chair of the Congress, and endorsed by the resounding assent of thousands of delegates from all parts of India, without a dissentient voice. Into the National Congress, amid passionate cries of welcome, filed the Mussalman representatives. Into the All-India Muslim League Conference, amid cries of welcome as passionate, filed the representatives of the Congress. The President of the Congress sat on the platform of the All-India Muslim League. Both bodies passed the joint scheme elaborated through many sittings. The union is complette and solid. Internal divisions in the Congress, existing since 1907, were equally healed. Babu Surendranath Bannerji and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak spoke to the same self-government resolution, which not only laid Tilak spoke to the same self-government resolution, which not only laid down the transition scheme, but demanded that, in the reconstruction of the Empire, India should have self-government equal to that of the self-governing dominions. A more completely united front could not be shown. . . . . . . .The prophecies of disunion have proved false; the prophecies of disaster have proved false. (The largest Congress ever held has met in perfect order, has worked in harmony, has closed in peace.) No wonder that the enemies of Indian freedom are pouring out floods of venom and fury."

14. In an article under the heading "Oddments of Anglo-India", New India, of the 8th January, remarks:--"It is characteristic of the Anglo-Indian press that when the educated Indians ask for reforms affecting directly the poorer classes it ignores them, and when, weary of asking, the Indians lay their hands on the machinery of legislation, they are taunted with their indifference to agriculture and the poor. . . . .'Can any Indian leader,' asks the Empire, 'point to any movement which has for its object the advancement of the poorer classes and which is supported by the people who agitate for reform?' Most certainly he can. Take the co-operative movement, spreak throughout the mufassal by educated men who are also Congressmen. Take the support given to the Rama-Krishna Mission, the Depressed Classes Mission, the Madras Poor Boys' Fund, the National Industrial Fund, to name but a few. But the caste Indian does not take food from outcastes. The Briton naturally does not mind taking food and water from outcastes because, like them, he eats meat and drinks spirits, and all Indians to him are much alike, inferior beings; but he does not take food from costermongers and scavengers and navies in his own country, where he observes class rules like castemen here. He does not interdine nor intermarry with the slum population. . . . . What reforms have been gained in England save by violence or menace of violence? Even women have been driven to violence in despair of obtaining justice by argument.

The Anglo-Indian Press and Indian aspirations.

"An anonymous writer in the Statesman, praising its venomous article of the 4th, makes the granting of Home Rule to India 'analogous to placing dangerous weapons or poison in the hands of children as a reward for good behaviour,' and says that it would be 'nothing short of a gigantic crime to place the governance and destinies of, say, two hundred and ninety-nine millions of human beings in the hands of a paltry minority of agitators'. If this contemptuous treatment of Indians as children be passed over as unworthy of reply, it may be asked whether it is not a greater crime to leave their governance and destinies in the hands of 1,273 English and 46 Indian Civilians, who practically rule the country? If heads are to be counted the English are nowhere?"

16. The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 8th January, observes:-

The Round Table.

"The question as to what should be the position of India in the Empire is rightly engaging the attention of those statesmen who have its destinies in their keeping and is one of the post-war problems the basis for the solution of which the country has to formulate at present. This is rendered more imperative in view of the fact that some persons like Mr. L. Curtis put either, covertly or openly forward the claim that the Dominions as they are styled should be placed on a footing of equality with the mother country in the future governance of the Empire. . . . . .What renders the situation more deplorable is the consideration that some of the very highest officials in this country are giving those

men all the facilities that lie within their reach in strengthening the views which have been already formed to the prejudice of the future progress of this country. . . . . What should be particularly painful to an Indian is the fact that some of the highest officials who live in this country as the country's servants and get fat salaries should be found to help those who are regarded as inimical to every kind of progress in this country. . . . . . . It is well that those Anglo-Indian officials should remember that their sympathies should lie with the Indians among whom their lot is cast rather than with those who are outsiders so far as Indian aspirations are concerned and who get into this country not for the purpose of helpging this country to rise to the position of a self-governing member but for obstructing the progress with their ill-digested ideas. . . . . It would surely be humiliating to England's pride if she should allow the Colonies to participate in the governance of India whom she now governs with undisputed sway. The Colonies are only of recent growth and as such entitled to a proportionate representation in any scheme of federated Imperial Council. But the idea that the Colonies should be placed on a footing of equality with the mother country in any such scheme to the prejudice and exclusion of India is unthinkable and beset with danger for the future stability of the empire. It is necessary that the various political bodies in this country should set themselves resolutely to counteract the prevalence of any such idea in this country and in England where the Colonial men are likely to influence the people more effectually than they can in

this country, the British Congress Committee should be strengthened so as to meet this new yet grave danger to the Indian aspirations successfully.2

Wtiting on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 9th January, says:- "We have seen No. 2 of the series of letters Mr. Lionel Curtis has addressed to his fellow-conspirators of the Round Table who would fain place India under the yoke of the Colonies. We are now strengthened in our belief that the propaganda of this knight who has so generously come to India to redress the grievances of the bureaucrat is encouraged by the officials, as is evident from the familiarity with which he speaks of 'Meston, Marris and Chirol' and Lord Chelmsford. Mr. Polak was, then, not in the wrong when he said that this is a conspiracy supported by the officials. A question must be put in the Imperial Legislative Council so that we might know in what relation Curtis and Chirol stand with the Government of India.

"It is extremely scandalous that Mr. Curtis and his chaperon should be permitted to libel the Indian people and to create misunderstanding between the Government and the people, basking all the while in the official sunshine. It is, also, surprising that in spite of the profound resentment their campaign has created, the officials should continue supporting them. The Indian press is taken to task for commenting upon the 'private' letters of Mr. Curtis. Private or not private; we are glad that the sinister campaign is exposed in all its aspects."

17. The Indian Patriot, of the 9th January, writes:-

The emigration enquiry.

"The letter that we publish elsewhere from Mr. Marimuthu Thyagaraja will be read with sorrow and indignation all over India. It is a pity that any civilized human being should make himself responsible for such base conduct towards his fellowmen. It is time that some definite steps were taken, in the name of humanity, to put a stop to such reckless assaults on the helpless dependent as some European planters have been revelling in. The last echo of the Marakayar-Marjoribanks enquiry had not died in the Ceylon estates when the hunnish planter was belabouring a coolie. . . . . .According to the Ceylonese, the visit of the Madras Commissioners has rather fallen flat on the Ceylon public. Of course, the Commissioners could never have seen a coolie tied up or beaten or branded; or kicked for wanting his tundu and kicked, when he did not want it; they could not have seen him flogged within an ace of his life and left to hobble to the hospital 6,7 or 10 miles away; and, if he ever recovered, he was rarely reclaimed so long as he lacked strength and sinew to toil on the estate, but the moment some good Samaritan had compassion on him, bound his wounds, and took him home, and breathed the breath of life into him once more, he was promptly taken into custody for being a bolter, and his benefactor charged for harbouring him. . . . . .We sincerely hope that the Ceylonese is mistaken, and that when the Marakayar-Marjoribanks report is published, we will have a real picture of the situation, instead of disquisitions on sanitary arrangements."

24. The Karnataka, of the 6th January, observes:-

The future of Indian Native States.

"We are sincerely glad that the Madras Mail has betimes turned its attention to the generally evaded subject of the future of Indian Native States. . . . . .The hot-gospellers of our nationalist press have studiously avoided to look at the question squarely in the face; and one of them had the ingenuousness to aver openly:- 'We cannot complicate our Home Rule work by printing comments on matters relating to Native States.' Comments thus tabooed are, however, only of the adverse type; for it is this very journal which loses no opportunity to advertise the marvellous achievements of Native States and mark them out as ocular proofs of the blessedness of Home Rule as contrasted with the 'Other Rule'. . . . . The Madras Mail agrees with us that that the States must be given a share in the settlement of Imperial or All-India questions. It will be remembered that even well-informed Indian journals like the Hindu and the Social Reformer maintained that there could be no common ground for the Native States and the British Provinces. We drew attention to the absurdity of that contention; and cited practical instances to prove that there are, and always will be, matters wherein the rights and interests of the States are no less involved than those of British India. . . . . . . Every political and economic current that sweeps over India must necessarily touch the Native States, and it is an obvious injustice that, while the wishes of British ruled people are consulted, the claims of Native States for similar respect are not even seriously recog-

nized. . . . . .We have no hope that the Madras Mail's appeal to Congressmen will bear any fruit. We have had the pleasure of speaking to a few of them, and the pain of finding them reluctant to recognize the problem at all. The Bengalee, an estimable paper in all respects, edited by one of the most illustrious of Indians, is so obsessed by the sense of British India's importance that it disposes of 'Princes and peoples' in one oratorical sweep, as if there were no people outside British India and as if the Princes had no individuality save as contributors of men and money for the war. . . . . There is no use of hiding the fact that, in more senses than one, the Indian Congressmen must find it inconsistent with their own immediate object to speak candidly regarding the Native States. Beneath a veneer of admiration, most of them conceal a hearty contempt for Native States and their humiliations. The main hope for the States lies for the present, as the Madras Mail too says, in the patriotism, courage and political sagacity of the more enlightened and more important Princes. We may even hazard the suggestion that Mysore, which has known much, tried much, and achieved much in these matters, is pre-eminently fitted to take the lead."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

Seditious leaflets.

29. The Hitakarini, of the 31st December, expresses its deep regret to learn that seditious leaflets are in circulation in the Andhra country and remarks:- We never dreamt that this country also will

come to bear this ill repute. We may surmise that the country must have been influenced from outside. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that this country would have ever ventured to do a thing not known before. We pray that the Government will at once bring the offenders to book and maintain the peace of the country.

India and the Imperial War Conference.

37. Referring to the representation of India by its Secretary of State, on the Imperial War Conference to be held before the end of February 1917, the Hindu Nesan, of the 28th December, says:- It is disappointing and regrettable that while the Colonies have been given the right to send their representatives to the Conference, India has not been given this right. What was the reply given by Lord Hardinge to the resolution moved in the Viceroy's Legislative Council that Indian representatives should be sent to the Imperial War Conference and what has now taken place? This is not a worthy return for the help rendered by India in this war.

Writing on the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd January, observes:- Representatives of India also should have been taken in the Imperial Conference along with those of the Colonies. A resolution was moved in the Viceroy's Legislative Council last year that the British Government should be told that India should be officially represented on the Imperial Conference. But what good can come out of this official representation? From the Viceroy's reply to this resolution, is it wrong to infer t at in considering the

claims of India, the British Government has to consult the views of the Colonial representatives? Besides it has to be taken as a favour done to India that the Viceroy has been asked to send up two persons to advise the Secretary of State for India in this matter. Is it wrong for the Indians to claim a place for India on the Imperial Conference by virtue of its status and the great help now rendered by India.

The Imperial Conference.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 6th January, is highly gratified to learn that the Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nayar will be sent to assist Mr. Chamberlain in representing the interests of India before the forthcoming Imperial Conference. It remarks that Sir C. Sankaran Nayar commands the confidence of all, and is sure that his appointment will meet with universal approval. It suggests that Lord Carmichael may, if the law permit, be chosen as the other representative of India, to assist Mr. Chamberlain at the conference.

Imperial Conference.

In a small note on Mr. Chamberlain's interview with Reuter's representative the Andhrapatrika, of the 8th January, says that Mr. Chamberlain expressed his sympathy with India in the matter of Indian representation and the Imperial Conference, and asks when the lip sympathy of British statesmen will be translated into action.

India after the war.

38. The following extract from an article under this head in the Modern Review for January appears in the Swadesamitran of the 3rd January:-

Madagascar and Indo-China, which are subject to France, are in opposition to the greed of the France people, pressing forward their claims to be given independence in the matter of adopting any policy which may be conducive to their own interest in regard to export, import and inland revenue. This demand would have been complied with, had it not been for the war. In this respect the British Government can take a lesson from France.

India after the war.

Referring to the letter of Mr. Curtis recently published in Bombay, The Prapanchamitran, of the 5th January, writes in its leader as follows:- There are three parties in England who hold different views on this subject. One of them thinks that India is yet a mere child, and that if self-government were granted to her, confusion would arise and the country would be ruined. Therefore this party wishes that India should always be governed as a conquered country. Another party, while granting that India was once highly civilised and knew the art of Government, objects to her being given self-government on the ground that her people are just receiving training under the British Government and have not yet become capable of governing themselves. This party is for deceiving India by promising to give her self-government when she is fit for it. The third party has only now sprung up and it is for making the colonies share with the British Government the administration of India.

A promiment member of this party is Mr. Curtis who is now sojourning in India; and he belongs to the same class of politicians as Sir Valentine Chirol who is an opponent of Mr. Tilak and a venomous worm in the path of India's aspirations. This party is making a serious attempt in England to bring about the adoption of their views in the Imperial Conference after the war. In this matter certain high placed officials in India, such as the head of the Government of the United Provinces, and the Inspector-General of Police of the same place are rendering all help. But the Indians will not consent to be subject to the colonies. Again, there are three parties in India also. One of these wants absolute swaraj and no foreign connection. Thoose belonging to this party form by far the smallest minority. They may be good patriots, but it is sheer foodhardiness that they ask for absolute separation from England. The large majority of the people are opposed to this party. Another party says that India is not yet prepared for self-government. All the moderates including the President of the last Congress belong to this party. The third party is that represented by the popular leaders such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant, which asks for swaraj being given immediately. Though this party asks for swaraj for India, it does not say that India should be inseparable friends, but that India should be independent. This is our view also.

Civil Service Examination.

41. Referring to the resolution moved in the Congress at Lucknow that the Civil Service Examina-

nation should be held in India alone, and that the Eyropean candidates should come to India and appear for it, the Hindu Nesan, of the 30th December, observes:- The holding in India as well as in England of the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Servants is a demand that has been made from the commencement of the Congress, but the authorities have been turning a deaf ear to it. In the last Congress the resolution on this subject has gone further and demanded the holding of this examination in India only. This is an attempt to achieve a thing which is impossible for some time to come, though it is reasonable in itself. This is not an opportune demand when it is considered that European experience is necessary for the Indians who may pass this examination.

42. Writing on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, observes:- The commercial policy which may be found suitable to Great Britain and the Colonies after the war cannot be suitable to India, for she lags far behind those countries in industrial development, being, like Russia, an essentially agricultural country. When, therefore, the commercial policy of the Empire after the war has to be determined, special attention will have to be paid to the peculiar conditions in which India is now placed.

India and the commercial policy of the Empire after the war.

44. The Prapanchamitran, of the 5th January, has a long article on "Arya Dharma", in the course of which it observes:- Some patriots cry out that our people have not conquered foreign countries, that we have not established our commerce with them to our own advantage,

"Your duty."

that we have not filled them with our industrial products and that we have to be a subject race. But these patriots are ignorant of the greatness and strength of a true knowledge of thins concerning the soul. Where is that Great Empire of Rome which conquered and ruled over England itself whose empire now extends over the whole world? Where is the supremacy of the Greeks who once enjoyed a wotldwide reputation for matchless sovereignty? Where are the greatMuhammadan conquerors who struck tebror in the hearts of a whole world? Know ye, therefore, that because these great nations neglected their enjoined duties they paved the way for their own destruction. To conquer foreign lands by sheer force, and to advance industry and commerce, will not alone bring lasting eminence to a nation.

45. Commenting on the Presidential address in the last Congress the Pzapanchamitran, of the 5th January, writes:- Mr. Mazumdar has betrayed himself to be a moderate in spite of his ill-concealed show of voicing the real sentiments of the people. Babu Surendranath Banerji, who has been all through a foremost swarajist, now says one thing and does another thing. He opposes some excellent resolutions moved by Mr. Tilak and his party in the Subjects Committee. This popular assembly is only a sleeping body. Those who make loud speeches in it are only such as seek a seat in the Legislative Council. Therefore, ye Home Rule Leagues! wake up. You alone must do what has to be done. Next year will be as bad as the present year, so far as the Congress activities are concerned. It will be a sheer folly if the Home Rule Leagues believe in them and neglect their duty.

The Indian National Congress.

In a leading article giving a brief summary of the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and of the President of the Congress, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 5th January, quoting Tilak's words that "we have united in the United Provinces and we have found luck in Lucknow"; observes that not the least important among the circumstances which will make this year's session of the Congress memorable are the reconciliation of the moderate and the extremost parties and the fusion of Hindu-Moslem interests. The President did not retrace his steps from the ideal of swaraj like the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha who presided last year; his stentorian voice, however, was truly like that of a Sinha (Lion).

The Indian National Congress.

46. The Hindu Nesan, of the 2nd January, observes under this head as follows:- It has now become known how Mr. Curtis was primarily responsible for the drafting of the South Africa-Asiatic Bill. This itself is enough to show that it is only a pretence for him to say that he has come to India to ascertain the views of the public. When he had no sympathy to show for the Indians in South Africa, how can we expect him to possess any sympathy for the Indians in India itself? Mr. Polak said in the last Congress that it was not the desire of the Colonies to bring India under their control, that at all events such an idea did not orginate in South Africa, but that it has emanated from the fertile brains of the members of the Round Table. We are sure that Mr. Curtis will not be consulted either by the British

The antecedents of Mr. Curtis.

Empire or by India and the Indian Public in the determination of the place that India should occupy in the new arrangement after the war.

Mr. Curtis.

In the course of its comments on the letter addressed by Mr. Curtis to the editor and members of the Round Table, the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th January, remarks:- Even a hundred years hence, it is not likely that the British rulers will say that the Indians have attained administrative capacity, for, to say so will affect the privileges they enjoy. But in no country are political reforms postponed till all the people gain political knowledge and experience. The histories of England and Japan bear testimony to this. Whatever may be the kind of government that India will have after the war, no son of India will wish that India should be placed under the authority of the dominions. It is regrettable that the authorities who are maintained by the people should support Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Curtis' letter.

The Manorama, of the 5th January, condemns Mr. Curtis' letter to the Members of the Round Table Society in England, and points out that inasmuch as he is conspiring against the Indian Empire, its publication in the Bombay Chronicle is as justifiable as the publication of any private news from an enemy camp will be.

The condition of the Indian coolies in the Ceylon plantations.

47. The following report of an incident that took place in a plantation in Ceylon appears in the Swadesamitran, of the 9th January:- Twenty coolies were coming out of a bungalow belonging to the owner

of a plantation. They were in great distress. When asked about it, they said that owing to ill-treatment in the plantations, they made known to the owner their desire to quit his service. He promised to give them their chits, but delayed doing so. Finally when they went to him for the chits on the day fixed by him, he began to belabour them with a cane and to kick them. All but two escaped beating. One of the two, however, was severely wounded. He fell down by the force of the kick, and blood flowed freely from his hands and legs. The condition of our poor coolies in the plantations should be improved very soon; else it will go hard not only with the coolies but with the planters also.

48. The Lokopakari, of the 1st January, makes the following remarks in connection with a statement made by Sir James Meston in this conference:-

Sir James Meston and the All-India Muslim League Conference.

When Sir James Meston said that the Muslims should make it their first object to work for the advancement of their own race, his idea was merely to prevent the Muslims from working conjointly with the Hindus. Though he said so, the Muslims have come to the conclusion that the advancement of India is possible only by the joint efforts of the Muslims and the Hindus. The Indian Christians also have come to be actuated by a similar feeling. The Government cannot refrain from removing the disabilities of the people, when the various classes join together and make known such grievances.

49. The Andhrapatrika, of the 4th January, reports the Modern Review to have written thus:- The Indian bureaucracy have certified themselves to be a very able body of men. But their ability does not show itself in promoting the welfare of the people. India is the poorest, the most insanitary and the most illiterate of all the countries in the world under civilised rule. She is the only country under civilised rule that suffers from plague permanently. It follows from this that from the people's point of view, the officers of His Majesty the King-Emperor are not really an able body of men.

The Indian bureaucracy.

51. In the course of its leader on Lord Sydenham's article headed "The Danger in India" which appeared in the Nineteenth Century, the Andhrapatrika, of the 5th January, says:- The opinion of Lord Sydenham that India can attain its salvation only through the British Government is absurd. Time will determind how far the British Government are disinterested and devoutly dutiful in the discharge of their duties. While it is true that the British rule has benefited the Indians, it is wrong to suppose that the grant of self-government will retard their progress. The Indians are not stupid though illiterate. They can discriminate right from wrong. They demand self-government as their birth-right and not seek it as a favour. It is stated that if the requests contained in the memorandum submitted by the Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council be granted, the Government of this country will pass into the hands of a few. But is not the Government at present in the hands of a few? Lord Sydenham does

Lord Sydenham.

not see the new spirit that is gaining ground in India. His article makes it plain that our wishes can only be fulfilled if we enlist the sympathy of the British people on our side and not if we depend on the bureaucracy.

52. In a leader headed "the acquisition of swaraj," the Kistnapatrika, of the 23rd December (received on the 10th January 1917), observes:- The swarajists have made their appearance. Political endeavour has taken a new turn. The swarajists brought the new message that political progress means the evolution of nationalism, and not a mere readjustment of the administrative machinery. Swaraj, national education, and the boycotting of foreign goods have given a new turn to political endeavour . . . . .National evolution, according to the nationalists, cannot be imposed from without. It must be in keeping with the inherent genius of the nation; and every nation must be free itself to mould its destiny.

Swaraj.

The congress did not comprehend these ideals. Unwilling to forego its old traditions, it discarded the new spirit and the Surat conflict was the result. Since then the Congress has only lived in name, but ceased to have any hold on the hearts of the people. The new spirit also has existed as an ideal, but could not manifest itself as a reality for want of a concrete body. Many an a

63. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 2nd January, in commenting on the presidential speech of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding self-government, writes:- A discussion on this subject was so unnecessary that it is probable the audience paid little attention to it. The subject of self-government is a very old story repeated like a twice-told tale in season and out of season. Mr. Jinnah is fully aware that the prejudice existing between Hindus and Muhammadans is based on religious differences which will last as long as the two communities exist. In the circumstances concord and unity between them are impossible. This being the case how can self-government be beneficial to India? We have often endeavoured to turn the attention of the leaders of our community in this direction, and pointed out to them in plain words that their clamour is on a par with the cry of a parrot amid the beating of drums, and that the notion of self-government is no better than a quixotic idea. Such speeches give the community a bad name; can the aspirants after self-government assure us that the blessings, comfort and tranquility which we enjoy under the present Government, are attainable under any other rule?

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's presidential address.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 20TH JANUARY 1917.

No. 3 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Council Bills.

14. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 10th January, writes:- "A Press communique has been issued indicating in substance the proceedings of a conference which the Finance Member had with the Exchange Banks a few days ago in Calcutta on the question of the recent restriction of the sale of Council Bills. It is very much to be wished that instead of the bare statement that important conclusions were arrived at there was given some idea of the proposals which were made and accepted so as to remove definitely the difficulties which the trade has to meet by the restriction put upon the sale of Council Bills by the Secretary of State for India. It is a matter of importance that Indian public opinion, including commercial opinion, should be consulted beforehand and no step is taken which may affect their interest seriously without consulting them, but in financial matters at all events Indian opinion, disorganised at present, is seldom consulted at all. In the matter of financing the trade there is no doubt that the Government have been pursuing a shortsighted policy. . . . . .We wish we knew something of these proposals by means of which gold is proposed to be circulated. If that only were possible

we should be able to secure an automatic gold currency, and not only 'gold-bugs' but every one interested in a stable monetary standard would be glad if gold could be put into circulation. In this as in other matters more definite information is needed than is vouchsafed to us by the press communique."

15. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 10th January, writes:--"At any time the policy

"The Danger in India."

of setting people by the ears is not one which can command attention and respect, however high the person may be, who is engaged in the pastime, but at the present moment when the articulate section of the Indian community has rallied round the Government to an extent unthought of before, baiting educated men is positively harmful. And that is unfortunately the task in which Lord Sydenham is engaged though unrestingly. His article on the 'Danger in India' in the Nineteenth Century and After is likely to set up the educated classes against the uneducated masses. . . . . Lord Sydenham seems to think that the educated and the uneducated classes are two sets of people kept in two water-tight compartments, that their interests run on parallel lines and do not meet. That is a view which may be tolerated in one who derives his knowledge of India from globe-trotters but from one who has actually felt the influence of the aristocracy of intellect on the general populace as Lord Sydenham has felt for five years in Bombay, such an observation is painfully surprising."

Referring to the comments of the Amrita Bazaar Patrika on Lord Sydenham's article on "The Danger in India" in the Nineteenth Century and After, the Indian Patriot, of the 16th January, says:- "Our contemporary foresees a possible rise of Japan when Europe is exhausted by the war. . . . . There can be no doubt of the possibilities indicated by the Amrita Bazaar Patrika. Those possibilities may be realised within the next few years. And then if Britain is not able to present a bold front to the rising ambitions of the Far Eastern Power, it seems likely that that power will prove mighty in the Asiatic continent. And the only way of checking her ambition will be to equip an India, healthy, strong and powerful. What prevents Great Britain from undertaking the task of equipping India? So far as one can see, the only obstacle is the existence of a school of opinion which is utterly blind to the possibilities of India, as a source of defence, and which is over-conscious of the helplessness of India. If even the present war has not opened the eyes of men of this school, we do not know what will. Their thoughts are directed to keeping India as she is; they have no idea of making her fit for defending the Empire, of upholding the cause of the Empire. They would even administer the pousta to her people for the satisfaction of seeing them a subject race. Such men can do no good to the Empire which needs all the strength which every part of it can give, but which they would deliberately destroy in order to maintain the supremacy of race over race."

The following appears in the West Coast Spectator of the 11th January:-"What is the matter with Lord Sydenham? He has taken up in the Nineteenth Century and After the tale he told the other day at Printing House Square on the extreme undesirability of inaugurating reforms in India. He is down with pious horror at the very mention of reforms, loudly calls for stern discouragement of new aspirations and demands that His Majesty's Government should proclaim in unequivocal terms that they are not going to introduce any measure of reforms for a long time to come! The whole performance looks like a Gilbert and Sullivan opera. . . . . If they want to court serious trouble in India, they have only to act upon the advice of this Prophet of Park Lane and reject the counsel of those Englishmen who know India and have not yet sacrificed their instincts of liberalism. . . . . .India has moved on, rather rapidly, since the Sydenham days in India, and if his Lordship is suffering from political myopia of an aggravated type, is India to suffer?"

The Mysore Patriot, for the week ending 16th January, observes:- "The figures given by Lord Sydenham go to show that India is better fitted to have Home Rule than even England. It is a matter for surprise that a gentleman, who was placed over the destinies of the Bombay Presidency for so long a time, should show such lamentable lack of logic in opposing Home Rule to India. His admiration for the arguments of such enemies of India as Sir Valentine Chirl and men of his stamp is responsible for such eggregious blunders. . . . .

It would be graceful for England to extend self-government to India on Colonial lines. If it has not the heart to do it, it will have to do it, whether it wills or nills. Three hundred and fifteen millions of people the inheritors of British Home Rule traditions, can never be held in political bondage for ever.'

21. The Indian Patriot, of the 15th January, states:-

Indians in South Africa.

"We do not know whether many races on earth~~/~~ can show such steadfast loyalty and devotion to their King as the Indians; the fact remains that in spite of self-government granted to South Africa the Germans succeeded in rousing a rebellion there. We know the sufferings to which our countrymen have been subjected in South Africa; even the enthusiasm and often dangerous part that Indians undertook to play in the war did not smoothen the ~~engde~~ edge of colour prejudice. We have had instances where the Indian trader or hawker was refused a license for the simple reason that he was an Indian, was economical, careful, and, therefore, a source of formidable opposition to the Boer or the White. . . . .
The splendid show of self-sacrifice and devotion that brought at their feet the admiration of a world for their organised passive resistance was again in prominence. The poor gardeners contributed a whole day's marketable produce. The stall-holders agreed to close down their business for two days, which meant a sacrifice for them, for the profits which they hoped to make during those two days going towards the Governor General's Fund, as the purchases would be made at the Durban, Indian Market Gardeners' War Fair."

24. The Hindu, of the 16th January, writes:- "Mr. Andrew's letter to the press on 'Indentured

Indentured labour.

labour' helps to remind the people of this country of the great need for constant agitation in the matter. Even though the Government of India had accepted a resolution abolishing the indenture system, it appears that the Fiji planters have so far been able to prevail on the Home Government to continue the system for some time more, five years to begin with. This has roused great alarm in the minds of the public and the least that the Government of India can do in the matter is to dissuade the Home Government from taking any steps so fatal as that which they are reported to have taken. If, fortunately, it transpires that the report has no foundation, we trust the Government of India will promptly issue a press communique to that effect."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 17th January, says:- "We all thought that with the emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement of Lord Hardinge on the subject, this inhuman and shameless system has been all but dead, and that in a very short time explicit orders would be issued for ever preventing any possibility of Indians being sent as slaves. The news that the system is to be continued for five years and that the Colony (Fiji) has obtained an assurance to that effect from the British Government will rouse indignation throughout the country. . . . . .Ever since Lord Hardinge made his memorable speech at Madras, the

views of the Government and the people have been the same on this subject of indenture. . . . .
In any question, therefore, affecting emigration, we may depend upon the active support of the Government of India. If, in spite of this, a Colonial Secretary could give an assurance to Fiji planters of an extension of five years' least to Indian slavery in their fields, it only means that the opinion of the Government of India is as much slighted as the opinion of the Indian National Congress or the Moslem League."

The condition of free emigrants in Madras.

25. Referring to the announcement that a committee has been appointed to inspect the condition of free emigrants in Madras, New India, of the 18th January, observes:- "The impression created by the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmad Thambi Marakayar among the Sinhalese has been of a very discouraging type; and on that account at least he ought to have been kept out. Mr. M.A. Parthasarathi Ayyangar is new to this particular work, but his abilities and patriotism justify us in looking for much usefulness from him. The inclusion of Mr. G.A. Natesan is valuable and well deserved. We are keenly disappointed to notice the absence of the name of Mr. Kesava Pillai or Mr. Ramachandra Rao, who have both taken much interest in that topic, specially the former, to whose exertions mainly we owe the committee. We hope it is not yet too late to add their names."

The new British war loan and India.

27. New India, of the 16th January, states:- "The suggestion that if the Government of India

were to subscribe to the new British war loan, they will be assisting also the solution of the exchange trouble, requires to be very prominently noted by the people of India . . . . .We are much pained to see that the Finance Member thought it necessary to run all the way to Calcutta to explain to the traders that the Secretary of State could not satisfy their utterly selfish demand to the fullest extent! . . . . , . At present, the Secretary of State, by satisfying the traders' demand partially, is increasing the money at his disposal in England--money which serves no purpose whatever, and which is often lent out at very low rates of interest for reasons which are again unconvincing if not mysterious. . . . . The selfish demand of the traders to-day is to increase the money so lent out in London, and at the same time to decrease the cash balances available in India--balances that are so necessary for the economic development of the country. That is the full extent of the mischief which the present exchange policy is doing."

28. Referring to the decision of the Government of India, to raise a war loan, the Hindu, of the 19th January, observes:- "The announcement comes upon the public as a complete surprise, especially as the difficulties of such a loan and its certain injurious effects on Indian finance are known to have been clearly recognised by Sir William Meyer and, through him, the Secretary of State. . . . . The move must be supposed to have been taken to satisfy the unjust and, positively meaningless, but none the less vigorous and persistent, clamour raised by a certain section of the Press in India

The Indian war loan.

which gained such strength and volume by the support accorded to it by the Northcliffe and the Tory Press in England that the Home Government appears to have been made too feeble to resist it. . . . .
Apart from the question whether a war loan is necessary or expedient, not to say equitable, or not, there is no doubt that there are favourable circumstances at present which make its issue now most opportune. . . . .
The decision to issue the loan for an unlimited amount will be welcomed as happy, for, while it will not lessen a whit the efforts of this country to contribute its mite, it does not risk the financial reputation of India on a loan to which obviously only the few rich can subscribe. Calumniators of India obsessed with a sense of misguided enthusiasm, if not bent upon malignant mischief, and blind to the obviously dangerous short-comings of their case, have hitherto failed to appreciate the services of India to the Empire and have persistently agitated for a war loan. They may congratulate themselves on their success; but, thanks to the Government of India, the handle that they thereby secure to charge India of disloyalty or deliberate indifference to the cause of the Empire on the basis of the results of the loan, has been shorn of much of its venom and made the least potent to do the nefarious work for which it might be used. India fully recognises her duty to the Empire. . . . . .We are sure that no legitimate efforts will be spared to make the loan successful; but if subscriptions to it do not prove to be as satisfactory as expected by some, the fault certainly will not be that of the people of India."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 19th January, says:- "On by one the demands of extreme Anglo-Indian critics of the military policy of the Government are being conceded unde the new regime. Their violent abuse has at last made the wiser Government give way, the Press Act not being used against Anglo-Indian papers. So the latest decision yields the war loan, concerning which the Government of India have just issued a Press note. . . . . .The Government of India could have well postponed the decision by a few weeks. A large amount of money is now going out of the country in subscriptions to the present British war loan; and if they should amount to a huge figure--huge compared to the abject poverty of India--the Government could well have decided to abstrain from reversing the sound policy they had been following since the beginning of the war. . . . . .Our readers will also note the extreme brevity of the announcement. When a decision of such momentous importance is arrived at, specially where the former policy approved by the country is reversed, we have a right to know the reasons which prompted the change. . . . . Is it assumed that it is the duty of the people of India still to suffer without even knowing why they are asked to do so? Or is it because the official case is too weak to be published? We see no other reason justifying such brevity. . . . . There is one other point to which we draw the direction attention of the Government and the people. It is said in the Press note: 'The whole amount obtained will be given to His Majesty's Government to assist in the prosecution of the war.' The word 'given' ought to be

explained. Will the money be given as a loan, or given as a gift? We ask the explanation not only because certain Colonies have made such gifts, though small in amount, but also because the Anglo-Indian agitation has been for such a gift. Have the Government accepted their demand in full? Or will the money raised in India be only lent? The Issue raised is so momentous, that an explanation ought to be made at an early date.

33. The Hindu, of the 17th January, remarks:- "The anxiety that is being felt in regard to the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India is hardly likely to be lessened by the hesitation with which its publication is being delayed from month to month, notwithstanding the statementof the Secretary of State for India that no time would be lost in publishing the report or in taking action upon it. . . . . .It seems to us a matter for concern that at the present time no reactionary recommendations in the report should be allowed to deepen the feelings of dissatisfaction and disappointment which have already come to exist in the country on account of the continued indifference of British statesmen and the British public to Indian interests and aspirations, despite the vaunted change in the angle of vision.. . . . . If the sons of the soil are not placed on a footing of perfect equality with Englishmen and if Indians are to be recruited on principles which differ even in the slightest

The Public Services Commission Report.

degree from those laid down for the former, the Government will find that the sense of public disappointment that is sure to result will be so serious and poignant that far-seeing statesman will scarcely allow it to deepen. Indians, it must be clearly borne in mind, do not askfor favour; they demand what they consider to be their right and they have exercised remarkable forbearance in refraining from going the full length."

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

56. The Swadesamitran, of the 10th January, contains the following observations on this subject:- It has been usual with the British politicians to forget India easily, though she occupies a prominent place in the empire. The Colonies wish to be given the assurance that they will have a voice in the control over Imperial affairs. It is needless to point out what the lot of India will be, if she does not share in this control. For as Mr. Curtis has pointed out, the Colonial Ministers and the British Ministers will come to exercise a joint control over the administration of India. When the Imperial Conference met prior to the war, representatives of the Colonies alone were summoned and no Indian representative found a place in it. Lord Hardinge was therefore led to say that if Indian representatives should find a place in the Imperial Conference which was to take place during the war, it should be effected in such a way as to secure the approval of the representatives of the Colonies. It is ~~wein~~- owing to this restriction

The Imperial Conference.

that the Secretary of State for India alone has now been given a seat in this conference, and those who are likely to be sent from India as representatives have merely to advise him. Moreover, the Colonial representatives have now acquired the right to be present at the several conferences which have to meet often in connection with the important affairs relating to the war. It is therefore, highly necessary that we should constantly urge the claims of India to have a prominent place in the empire and to enjoy equal rights with the Colonies.

The envy of Anglo-Indian Journals.

57. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th January, has the following:- It is a well-known fact that the Anglo-Indian journals are not ~~plased~~ pleased with the way in which the two parties of the Congress have joined hands at Lucknow and, the Hindus and the Muhammadans have come to hold unanimous views regardingthe policitical advancement of India. Referring to such an attitude on the part of the Englishman and the Statesman of Calcutta, the Amrita Bazaar Patrika says: "The Anglo-Indian papers are beating their breast and gnashing their teeth at the strength of our union. They have not understood that the connection between the British people and ourselves will become permanent as a result of this strength of our union." These journals are of opinion that the special feature of the empire is to preserve without let or hindrance, the various facilities by which the Anglo-Indians can exercise mastery over those who do not belong to the race of white men, in matters relating to finance and politics. Of the beasts, it is the tiger that gets infuriated at the sight of danger. Men also become infuriated when they think of their enemies.

58. Referring to the notification of the Punjab Government that one or two army divisions will be formed by drawing men from among those who have passed the Matriculation and other public examinations of its University, the Swadesamitran, of the 12th January, writes:- We have been demanding for a long time that the higher posts in the army should be thrown open to the Indians, and this demand has been urged strongly on all sides since the outbreak of the war. But the day has not yet come for this request to be granted. The question now is whether it will be fair to give the educated men who are now to be enlisted in the Punjab the rank of ordinary soldiers. These are sufficiently qualified to receive training for occupying the higher posts in the army and to be given such posts. They may be admitted into the institution established at Quetta for the training of military officers, though not to such an institution in England. The authorities should take into consideration the skill and conduct of the Indians in this war, and the Royal declaration that all would be treated equally. They should also see their way to bestow the higher posts in the army on duly qualified men who are already serving in the army.

Indians and the higher posts in the army.

59. In its leading article under this heading, the Prapanchamitran, of the 12th January, writes:- The Government has resolved to enlist educated Indians also in the army, both in Bengal and the Punjab, though only a small number of them are to be taken. India does not wish that her educated sons should be subjected to the indignity of being admitted into the army on the same

The Indian army.

footing as the illiterate people. The higher post in the army should be thrown open to the Indians and they should be granted all the privileges which are given to the European officers. The Arms Act should be removed from our country.

61. Referring to the exhortations of the Civil and Military Gazette to the youths of the Punjab to enlist themselves in the army, the Andhra-patrika, of the 12th January, writes, under this heading, as follows:--It is a proof of the Anglo-Indian editors' haughtiness that the Civil and Military Gazette which spat forth venom at the National Congress could not understand that its advice as to patriotism and loyalty would not (sic) be treated as mockery. It is sedition on the part of the Indian youths to wish for self-government and patriotism it is if they enlist themselves ordinary soldiers! The Civil and Military Gazette has not at least as much goodwill as the Times of India. In order that the Indian students may join the army it must be published unreservedly that they will be appointed to military posts on an equal rank with the English students.

Indian students' regiments.

63. In its stray notes published under the name of "Narada", the Prapanchamitran, of the 12th January, writes as follows on the following topics:--It is impossible to describe fully the ill-treatment to which the Indians going to the Colonies like Canada and Australia are subjected. But they have now begun to be aware of the existence of a country called India and have made a

India and the Colonies.

departure in their wonted ways of sending new year greetings to her. The skill now shown by the Indians on the battlefield has captivated the whole world. But India will not be satisfied with the mere exchange of useless greetings. These Colonies should regard India as a country having equal rights with themselves.

65. The Union of the four parties, namely, the Moderates, the Extremists, the Muhammadans and the Indian Christians, is indeed a happy sign of the times. Let any dog bark anywhere just as it pleases. The sun will not refuse to rise on that account. What matters it who makes any endeavours? It is certain that we shall obtain Swaraj.

The prospect of Swaraj.

68. Referring to the internment of Mr. Narendra Kumara Guha, a Professor of an educational institution in Bengal, under the Defence of India Act, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th January, says:- We have already given the particulars of the internment of this Professor who has obtained excellent credentials from the higher officers of Government. In reply to a question put in the Bengal Legislative Council, it was said that the cause of suspicion had been made known to him, and that he had submitted his explanation. While such is the case, the same gentleman has stated as follows in a petition recently presented by him to the Bengal Government: "Mr. Bartley of the Criminal Investigation Department came to me and took down particulars of my past movements. Besides, he mentioned the names of several suspects and asked me if I knew them. That was all he asked me about; but he did not state what crimes were attributed to me, nor

How explanation was taken from a political suspect.

did he take an explanation from me." Though we attach greater weight to the statement of the Government, there is not the least doubt that the public are very anxious to know whether what Mr. Narendra Kumar says is true or false.

Should enormous salaries be paid to the officers of the Indian Civil Service?

69. Quoting a statement made by Mr. Harold Cox in the House of Commons that the number and salaries of the British Ministers should be reduced, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th January, writes:- It is a well-known fact that a very large number of Englishmen are employed in the Indian Civil Service and that enormous salaries are paid to them. Considering the financial condition of India, we have been long urging that such large salaries should not be paid, that the heavy expenditure incurred on this service should be reduced, and that Indians should be more largely employed in it. Not only have our claims in this matter been ignored, but there are those who ask ~~whehter-it~~ whether it is possible not to pay such high salaries to men employed in this service. In addition to these high salaries, a heavy expenditure is incurred in the shape of their travelling allowance, etc. The British Ministry is composed of less than thirty members, whereas, in India, Civil Servants drawing salaries in thousands are employed in every department. It is a momentous question whether such an enormous expenditure can be fairly incurred in the administration of the country, when its financial condition is so low.

70. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th January, publishes the following particulars from a letter written to the papers by Mr. C.F. Andrews:-

Indentured labour.

It is admitted by the Government of India in its despatch, dated the 15th October 1915, that the women who go out as coolies to the plantations in foreign countries have to place themselves at the entire disposal of the male coolies, either by a lust for gold or by being forced to it by the officers or the subordinate staff, and that these women therefore lead immoral lives. While such is the case, it is openly talked about in the Fiji Islands that the system of indentured labour, which is the cause of all the demoralization, will, according to an assurance received from England, continue to remain in force for another period of five years. It is more than a year now since Lord Hardinge gave the assurance that this system would be discontinued. In spite of it, coolies in the proportion of one female to three males are still being sent out in large numbers to work on the plantations, and a whole shipload of them are even now on their way to the Fiji Islands. Mercy is a quality that must appeal to everyone. This evil system should therefore be publicly protested against.

71. The following appears in a letter of Mr. Gandhi reproduced by the Swadesamitran, of the 16th January:-

Mr. Ghandi on the letter of Mr. Curtis.

If, when several of us are assembled in our house, our enemies conspire to dig a hold underground, fill it with combustibles and set fire to them, and circulate a confidential letter to this effect, it is our duty to discover that conspiracy and make it public.

72. The Andhrapatrika, of the 9th January, says:-

Anglo-Indians.

The Anglo-Indians have waxed wrath. The authorities have exercised their authority and ordered that all unconstitutional talk should be avoided. Is this not to dishonour the Congress? The whole of India resented it. The authorities nod their consent to the advice of Anglo-Indian papers like the Madras Mail, but never hear the bewailings of the people. The laws regarding the sword, the dagger, the country, the language, the newspaper, the school, the freedom of speech, ~~country~~, the forests and the boats--all these forbid the people to serve even the country, to speak or to write anything or to move. If they speak out, they are stopped. The authorities have restrained broad-minded foreigners like Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Polak, who, out of compasioon, work on our side. But it is disastrous that even the Indians should suspect them to be spies. . . . . Union must increase. India must once again attain its ancient glory: Vande Mataram. A royal elephant for mother Bharata and a palanquin for mother Andhra.

79. The United Church Herald for January 1917 has the following in English:-

Self-government.

We sympathise with our friends in their desire for the progress of "Self-government" in India and we believe that such progress will be very much accelerated after the war. We are also in agreement with the Bishop of Madras that from every point of view it would be a great advantage if the Government of India would definitely declare that the goal towards which they are striving is the "Self-governent

of India", that is self-government fitted to the needs and conditions of India. It is useless to talk of "Self-Government on Colonial lines" when what we need is "Self-Government on India lines", but let it be stated quite clearly what our aim is and the changes made from time to time will be made with the ultimate end in view. No harm can come from such a declaration of policy, and those who pretend to doubt the benevolent intentions of the Government of India will be once and for ever silenced. We shall also have an ideal towards which we are all of us--Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans--alike, striving, and by which we shall be able to test, not only the measures of Government, but also the suggestions of Congresses.

There is however one thing which we as Christians must emphasise. We have said that we are one with our non-Christian friends in their desire for "self-government." We hold however that so long as the depressed classes are deprived of real justice and fair play by the majority of their countrymen; that so long as a small section of the community arrogates to itself the right of retaining all the chief privileges; and so long as Christians are denied the rights that belong to them as citizens of the country: for so long will India be unfit for any large measure of self-government. We think the Congress will do well to appoint a special committee to consider the necessary conditions for "self-government" and the best means of fulfilling these conditions.

103. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 11th January, writes:-

"The admission of educated people into the army!"

It is patent that loyal subjects from every corner of India have sacrificed and are sacrificing their lives

and property for King and country. Details of the help rendered by them have been published in the papers from time to time. Uneducated men have entered the army, obtained the religious title of "Ghaji". ~~Un-edu-~~ For instance the frontier tribesmen, the lion-hearted Punjabis, the spirited Ghurkas, Baluchis, Kathewaris, Rajputs, Rohillas, brave Ghogras, the immortal Maharattas, the zamindars of the North-West, the Afghans, the warriors of Shirwan and Kathiewar, the mounted men of Marwar and Sardani, etc., have rendered military service. Pathans and Telugus of Telengana, Jats, Gojurs, etc., have joined up and numbers of them are still joining the army.

The editor in applauding the views of the Lieutenant-Governor says that His Honour has very rightly and justly given it as his opinion that a company or a double company consisting of matriculants and graduates after the model of the Bengal double company, should be formed. He earnestly hopes that the matriculants and graduates from all colleges will forthwith form themselves into a double company and serve their King and country. The general public and the students of the country should, like Indian army, give practical proof of their readiness to play their part in the European war.

It is known to all that our Government is a peace-loving one that wishes its subjects well and loves them too. It is just and sympathetic towards the weak, the helpless and the down-trodden and, at the same ti,e the foe of oppression and tyranny. The reason why our Government is participating in the present world-war is its love of right and justice. From every point of view our Government is in the right and God helps the right. Hence not to come forward now with life and property would

amount to base ingratitude and rank hypocrisy.

We now see that the students who were supposed to be arrogant and rebellious on account of their knowledge of the history of foreign countries, appear to be ready to sacrifice their lives for their Government. They have given their heads for footballs, their lives for the good of their beloved country and earned the martyr's crown. The people who are anxious to preserve the prestige of their country are these very warriors who have gained their laurels by upholding India's honour.

The Press Act.

104. The Ravi, of the 11th January, reports the mover of the resolution on the Press Act in the Congress to have said that the independence of the press is necessary to cure the vagaries of the Executive officers of the Government, and to have recommended the repeal of the Act on the ground that it was the root cause of many an evil.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 27TH JANUARY 1917.

NO. 4 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Round Table and India.

9. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 17th January, remarks:--"Although we should think that Mr. Lionel Curtis has begun at the wrong end by giving expression to views most of which are not in accord with the best Indian opinion and are likely to make his task in India more difficult than need be, there is no reason to suspect his bona fides and condemn him as one who has come out to India to do her harm. Judging from his movements, he seems to be genuinely anxious to learn India at first hand by conferring with the leaders of public opinion. If he went to them without prejudice and informed himself of their views of things Indian, he might live down the notoriety which the publication of his letter has led him into and succeed in his self-imposed task in a larger measure than he may be able to do otherwise. . . . . His views on the nature and representative character of public opinion in India will not bear analysis and if he would choose to apply a similar test to public opinion in England he will have to come to much the same conclusion. .

. . . . .It is inevitable that the articulate section of a community should always constitute themselves into spokesmen for the rest and leaders of Indian public opinion do not claim to be the gramaphone of the masses of the population. . . . . If he would only show to the leaders of Indian public opinion that he has not prejudged them and he is in India in a spirit of honest inquiry to know their wants and wishes and to help them on in their endeavour to win for India that recognition and place in the scheme of the British Empire which she deserves as the brightest jewel in the British Crown, he will be doing a service to the Empire whose magnitude and significance he may not realise just yet."

Indentured labour.

12. The Hindu, of the 20th January, states:- "Nearly a year has passed since the Government of India accepted a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the abolition of the indenture system of labour and yet it seems that we shall have to wait for long before we can see the end of that most objectionable system. From the letter of Mr. C.F. Andrews which was published recently in the press, it appears that recruits from India are being sent, in the proportion of three men for every single one woman. On the question of indenture system which Mr. Andrews quite properly characterises as 'a legalised form of prostitution' the whole of India, without any distinction of caste, colour or creed, has most emphatically demanded that no time should be lost in abolishing it, the perpetuation of which is a grave insult to our national honour. . . . .

We are shocked at the decision of the Colonial Government to continue the system, for the benefit of Fiji for a long period of five years whose obnoxious nature, Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have described in lurid colours . . . . .The life in the coolie lines, they say, where no privacy is possible for women, where every regard for modesty and gentility for women is flung to the winds, has undermined all ideas of sanctity of marriage and the condition of the sexes in coolie lines, could only be described as 'the moral of the poultry yard.'. . . . . It is impossible to exercise any moderation in condemning the system, and we consider it our duty to apprise the Government of of the very grave and serious error that they will commit by ignoring the strong and universal feeling of the country and allowing the system to continue."

Writing further on this subject, the Hindu, of the 24th January, says:- "If we revert to the problem of indentured emigration more often than usual, it is because we think that circumstances have arisen which compel us to rouse ourselves from the false sense of security into which we have been lulled by the acceptance of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council and by the sympathetic pronouncements of Lord Hardinge on the subject. It seems almost certain that the emphatic protests by the people of this country against the suggestion made sometime back by Mr. Bonar Law, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, have carried no weight whatsoever with the powers that be and that recruiting under indenture is, in accordance with that suggestion, to be allowed for a further period of five more years. The Indian

public cannot but emphatically deplore such a decision, if it has been made finally, in the teeth of so earnest, persistent and unanimous disapproval of the continuance of the system as that which has been expressed these last fifteen years and more. It cannot be that the Government are not aware, not of the shadowy character of the material advantages to the emiggants only, but, what is of far greater seriousness, the unspeakable depth of moral degradation also to which Indian coolies in the Colonies are compelled to sink. . . . . The tragic circumstances under which our countrymen labour in the plantations of the white Colonials in the far distant lands overseas cannot but rouse in the heart of every Indian feelings of deep humiliation and horror. . . . . .That death is better than dishonour is a maxim which is nowhere better recognised than in India, and the Indian public, therefore, cannot be too emphatic in the condemnation of a system which for no fault of their own, deprives a section of their countrymen of not only their honour, but also the sense of it."

22. The Hindu, of the 23rd January, observes:- "The announcement is made that Sir S.P. Sinha, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir James Meston have been selected to assist the Secretary of State in representing India at the coming Imperial Conference. . . . . . . .Sir S.P. Sinha's selection will command general approval in the country. As an able lawyer, as ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and as ex-President of the Indian

The Imperial Conference.

National Congress, he ought to know the strength of feeling in this country in respect of the various matters that may be referred to him and he may be expected to properly advise the Secretary of State in regard to Indian affairs. The Maharaja of Bikanir is a nobleman of Rajputana who has served with distinction in the army in China and followed the Indian Expeditionary Force to the war in Europe in 1914. He has specially been chosen to represent Ruling Chiefs, but we hope the Maharaja will second the efforts of Sir Sinha in urging the claims of Indians for volunteering, for commissions in the army and for other reforms. . . . .
The choice of Sir James Meston is distinctly unsatisfactory. We do not see any necessity for sending a European official on this mission. Perhaps the authorities have considered an official necessary to counteract such influence as may be brought to bear on the Secretary of State by the Indian member. Sir James Meston is an able official, but of sympathy for Indian aspirations he has little. He is very unpopular in the United Provinces. His alleged connection with the mission of Lionel Curtis and his reported adherence to the views contained in Mr. Curtis's notorious letter, have justly earned for him an unpopularity which is gathering strength every day. If Sir James is a believer in the case for Colonial domination of India, as Mr. Curtis's letter leads one to believe, and if the subject of Imperial Federation is to be taken up at the Conference, then the Indian public cannot but look upon his selection with the liveliest apprehensions."

The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd January, remarks:- "We are glad to announce that Sir James Meston, Sir S.P. Sinha and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir

have been selected as the representatives of India to assist the Secretary of State at the Imperial War Conference to be held in February next. . . . . Sir S.P. Sinha's nomination is happy in every way. He will certainly safeguard the interests of India as far as one man can do. Sir James Meston, it is needless to add, is one of our most broadminded administrators. His sympathies are liberal and we have had evidence of his breadth of vision in regard to important Imperial questions. He will not, we are sure, fail to safeguard the interest of India, although we very much regret that his name should have been dragged in connection with Mr. Curtis' letter. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir is a prince of advanced views. He has visited Europe and knowing as he does so much of the world and of the position of Indians in the Colonies he must surely prove a force on the side of Sir S.P. Sinha.

New India, of the 23rd January, says:-

"Two non-representatives"

"The Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council have chosen two officials--one English one Indian--to advise the Secretary of State, the third non-representative of India in the War Cabinet. The other two are Sir James Meston, the friend of Mr. Curtis, who shares his views on the subjection of India to the Colonies, and Sir Satyendra P. Sinhai who regards India as a dislocated gentleman in a steel frame. These, with Mr. Austen Chamberlain, could hardly be outdone as misrepresentatives. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir is a progressive and patriotic Indian Chief, but we will have a hard task to do any good with three such colleagues.'

The Report of the Public Services Commission.

28. In a "Special Supplement" publishing the Report of the Public Services Commission, the Hindu of the 26th January, writes:--"The Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India was published last evening. The recommendations made are generally most reactionary and unsatisfactory and the Commission have rejected almost all proposals made by educated Indian opinion; The measures suggested for the employment of more Indians in the services are utterly inadequate. The report is a most disappointing document. . . . . .The proposal of simultaneous examinations has been rejected; the distinction between the Imperial and Provincial Services is sought to be perpetuated; the question of the separation of executive and judicial functions is not considered; the system of foreign scholarships is discouraged; the competitive system of foreign scholarships is discouraged; the competitive system of recruitment for various services in India is negatived; the claims of the Provincial Civil Service are absolutely ignored and existing rights taken away; increase of the cadre of superior appointment of emoluments proposed and an extra expenditure of half a crore of rupees annually recommended. . . . . For a closely-reasoned, bold, convincing and admirable presentation of the claims of Indians, one should turn to Mr. Abdur Rahim's remarkable dissenting minute, occupying about 94 pages of the report. Mr. Rahim has rendered a great public service by his frank and patriotic advocacy of India's cause, and it is a great national misfortune that Mr. G.K. Gokhale did not live long enough to influence the Commission along with his colleague Mr. Rahim."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 26th January, says:- "Those who warned the Government against the unwisdom of publishing at this time the Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, which had been submitted to His Majesty in August 1915, will have ample cause to regret that the Government had not followed their advice, but have chosen to place before this country--now so loyally and manfully co-operating with the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire as its equal partner in bringing the war for the liberties of nations to a victorious issue--a report steeped so fully in the traditions of racial preference, racial superiority and ideas of Imperial domination and dominion over British India. . . . . .The people of India, who hoped, despite the Commission's composition, for some progressive concessions in the solution of this vexed problem of Indian politics, can therefore, well understand with what a sigh of relief Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim--bereft of the great Gokhale with who m he could have battled against the forces of Anglo-Indian reaction, and feeling so lonely amidst those who have treated his country's national aims and aspirations with such superior disdain--came to the end of his labours on this unregenerate Commission. . . . . .It is, of course, not possible for us to-day to deal to any appreciable length with any of the specific recommendations contained in the majority report or in the dissenting minute of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. We think it, however, necessary at the outset to sound our note of protest against the fundamental assumption--unjust alike to the British and the Indian

peoples--on which the whole of the majority report proceeds, and of which we have given an indication in the quotations we have extracted at the top of this article. The report assumes that the British responsibility for the good government of India requires, if not the permanent maintenance of British officers, at least a preponderating proportion of District officers for many years to come. In other words, the bureaucratic domination of India by Great Britain is assumed to be certain to continue for many years, and this in spite of their own declaration of the striking developments in the constitutional history of the country in recent years. . . . . .We hold that the recommendations of the Commission in this vital matter are opposed to the fundamental laws on which the Government of India and the allegiance of the Indian people to the Sovereign are based, and are in any case absolutely repugnant to the wise policy--which despite delay and difficulties has always been the proclaimed principle of British rule in India for over three-quarters of a century. . . . . .The demand for Home Rule and this proposql that Indians shall have some 25 per cent of appointments in the higher posts of the Government in their own country now stand opposed to each other in all their nakedness. Will India be free, or will she accept, instead of the equality promised her in 1833 and 1858 a position of perpetual subordination? She must make her own choice. It is no wonder that this Commission broke Mr. Gokhale's heart and hastened his death. His spirit cries to us to protest, and we will not be disloyal to him.

"How can we measure the perversity of distinguished British Members of the Commission--with whom we find the unedifying spectacle of an Indian like Mr. Chaubal agreeing--to lay down in a public document a doctrine of practically permanent British domination in India, so closely corresponding to the modified Central African status which Mr. Lionel Curtis and his friends have proposed for India in their secret conclaves? We sincerely hope that, like Lord Ronandshay, the other members will change their angle of vision, and that the Secretary of State will perceive the wisdom of superseding the reactionary principles of this report by those which a really new angle of vision should have taught him long ago to adopt."

The Indian Patriot, of the 26th January, remarks:- "The report is at last published of the Public Services Commission. We hesitate to criticise it after a cursory perusal which alone has been possible for us. Generally speaking, the report is disappointing. . . . . .The recommendations made by the Commission will fail to give reasonable satisfaction to educated India...........The report of the Commission was written before their angle of vision had been changed. Otherwise it is not likely that so much emphasis would have been laid on the excessive importance of a large strength of the European element in the service as being necessary for the maintenance of British rule. The war has entirely recast the old notions. The Commission have repeated the arguments on both sides, one asserting and the other denying the existence of a sufficient number of men with the capacity for administration to justify the employment of a larger number of Indians..

. . . . .It is, however, on this assumption that the Commission have placed the Indian Civil Service and the Police Department in the forefront as those in which the European officers ought to largely predominate . . . . .The Public Services in India have long been filled up in a manner to create the greatest dissatisfaction in the minds of the people; and though two Commissions have sat in the course of thirty years, they are yet far from doing 'final justice to the claims of natives of India' which was the proclaimed object with which Lord Dufferin appointed his Commission in 1888.

The Hindu of the 26th January, has the following:-

"Out of Date recommendations."

"The mountain in labour has brought forth a mouse. The Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India, appointed with much flourish of trumpets, four yars ago, has at last been published, and a perusal of the recommendations made by the Commission discloses in an unmistakable manner how the hopes of Indians have been shattered, and their ardent and patriotic desire to rise to the full height of their mahoood has been discouraged and disregarded. It has been a most lamentable business which will bring about profound dissatisfaction in the country and the Indian revenues have suffered an enormous drain for a very doubtful gain. The heavy expenditure on the Commission has been a deplorable waste, and the only tangible result will be the disbelief in Commissions that is sure to grow--a rather costly lesson for India. The publication of the reactionary report is a most unfortunate step at this juncture for many reasons.

The Congress has been deprived of the opportunity of considering the work of a Commission which owes its inception to the wide and deeply felt feeling that the sons of the soil are strangers in their own country, so far as the administration of it is concerned. . . . . .In our view, the report should not have been published at all as being out of date, unsatisfactory and illiberal. The authorities should have known that it was not of a character which was calculated either to remedy long endured grievances adequately or meet the legitimate demands of Indians. It is, we consider, highly impolitic to throw such an objectionable report among the people at a time of eager expectations, and we should do the Government the justice of believing that they do not expect the people to fondle the ugly thing and be merry. . . . . .Every one of these important demands on which Indian public opinion has expressed itself freely, unreservedly and emphatically for several decades past, has been, our readers will note with astonishment and indignation, denied completely, except the last, ~~wehere~~ where thes safeguards, reservations, conditions and qualifications provided for, rob the gift of much of its value, which is intrinsically little. May we also say that the specious reasoning, misleading analogies, ingenious arguments, false promises and illogical conclusions which the report abounds in do little credit to the high reputation for fairness and integrity which some of the members undeniably possess? We come across a host of such surprising and astounding performances, some of which will be found mentioned below. Moreover statements and generalisations of highly controversial character have been made in a light hearted manner........

Is it not a reflection on the past that Great Britian has played in 'civilising' India, that after more than one hundred and fifty years of her rule it should be deemed necessary to deny to India the right that every country should possess? The insinuation contained in the reservation is an unmerited slur on Indian capacity and statesmanship and that it should have been stated by an important Commission is proof positive that prejudice against Indians and anxiety about vested interests lie too deep to be dispelled. . . . . Above all why should the Police be considered as being responsible for the good governance of India? According to a famàliar school, the Military are needed in India, to keep her in order, but the story of the part of the Police is, as we said, interesting and the ridiculousness of the theory will be apparent when one recollects that the superior appointments in the Police service are filled generally by uneducated men who exhibit little patience, sympathy or understanding in their dealings with their subordinates and the general public. . . . . Policy and efficiency are old friends who always have spelt disaster to Indian claims for a fair share of higher appointments, and it will be well if it is remembered betimes that it isIndian money that is spent in maintaining the higher officers in comfort and luxury. . . . . Against the clear lessons of experience in all countries the Commission pin their faith to the system of nomination for recruitment for all the appointments. .

The Commission have, without any justification, exaggerated the defe ts of competitive examinations and ignored the serious flaws such as jobbery, choice of inefficient men, etc., which are inherent in any system of nomination, however ingeniously devised. Fitness should be the only criterion, and it is deplorable that the Commission should have set aside this well-known principle for a vicious system which cannot conduce to purity, efficiency and popularity of the administration. . . . . The outstanding decision of the Commission in the simultaneous examination part of the report is that simultaneous examinations should not be held in England and India. The Commission state at the outset in quite explicit terms that the London channel has hitherto not provided a sufficient number of statutory natives of India and that some supplementary system is required. But they unhesitatingly come to the conclusion that this supplementary system cannot be a simultaneous examination. Indian public opinion has long been agitating for this act of bare justice, and statesmanlike Englishmen, who are not swayed by prejudice and do not get alarmed at the prospet of a substantial number of Indians getting into the Indian Civil Service, have always advocated this just measure, the introduction of which alone will carry out the pledges of Queen Victoria's Proclamation. The highest considerations of justice and political expediency prompted the Special Committee, of the Secretary of State's Council to recommend this measure in 1860. It was this equitable view of the matter that induced the House of Commons to adopt a resolution in favour of

simultaneous examinations, in the year 1893 a motion that has remained a dead letter all these years. The Commission have, however, unceremoniously brushed aside these high considerations including the one very fairly stated in another part of the report regarding the legitimacy of recruitment for any service being made in the country itself. . . . .
The Commission have, in another place, suggested that the present disability attaching to Indians who wish to complete for the competitive examination for Police in London, should be removed. But they, at the same time, say that five years' residence in England should be insisted on. This is South African politics. The law is inviolate, impartial, but in spirit it is sought to be broken. Legal equality and administrative differentiation may be the policy which is best for South Africa. But it is indefensible in India and that it has so long been tolerated is evidence of the sobriety in politics of Indians and cannot furnish a reason for perpetuating the insult. There is a confusion of ideas in this line of reasoning, and it is forgotten that India should be in the position of laying down the law on the subject. It is not generous that her unnatural position should be taken advantage of. The compliment that is paid to Indian talent that Indian element will swamp the service so as to reduce the European element so much as to impair the maintenance of the British character of the administration is of questionable sincerity. European merit will hodl its own at any time, and the spectacle of safeguarding European interests by invoking the fanciful fears of depletion of European element is scarcely edifying in the circumstances. . . . .

Nowhere has such a great problem been sought to be solved by such specious and puerile arguments, and it is a matter for profound regret that the Commission should have used such incredibly futile reasons.

"Neither Fish, nor Flesh nor Good Red Herring.

"The remedy proposed by the Commission is worse than the disease, and the diagnosis is absolutely incorrect,

..........................The present age-limits were expressly designed to enable Indians to compete for the examination, and it will be disastrous if a long established right is taken away. The talk of the London door being open to Indians will then be absolutely insincere, and we are sure the measure will evoke deep resentment in India. It will be inexpedient and unjust, and the Government should take the earliest opportunity of dissociating themselves from such an outrageous proposal. . . . . .Having made it impossible for Indians to compete for the examination in England, the Commission follow up that recommendation by deprecating the bestowal of any State scholarships for students going to England for, among other purposes, of competing for the examination. . . . . The Commission first kill the patient and then shed crocodile tears that no medicine can revive him. The exhibition of sympathy with the Indian parent and the anxiety about the boy's welfare come with ill-grace from a body which have had no hesitation in shutting the door against him. . . . . .The grievances of the Provincial Service have not only been left as they are, but their condition has been made worse, as a result of the separate examination recommended to be

held in India for the Indian Civil Service. . . . . .The Commission jump without a shadow of justification and for very arbitrary reasons, to fix the number of listed posts at 41, which works out at three-quarters of the present listed posts. So an actual reduction is proposed! We cannot but view this step as a want of disregard of the claims of a service which has produced brilliant men in the past, and from which according to a member of the Commission, Members of the Executive Council could be drawn. We are amazed at the suggestion which cannot but enrage public opinion. The solatium offered to promote Provincial Service officers on an incremental pay of Rs.1,200--75--1,800 if they are Collectors or Judges of the second grade or the same as drawn by Indian Civil Service men if they occupy higher posts, cannot cover the unjust and unintelligible ignoring of their undoubted claims. . . . .
It is undoubtedly a most lamentable fact that the services of Mr. G.K. Gokhale were lost to the country at a time when it was in great need of them."

29. New India, of the 26th January, has the following.
Mr. Lloyd George and India.

"<u>Breaking precedent</u>.

"In a memorable interview, which appears elsewhere Mr. Lloyd George observed that there must be no hesitation in breaking precedent in such a crisis as the present. If only Mr. Lloyd George would break precedent for India, he would earn the everlasting gratitude of the Indian people. India is under the heel of precedent, and a sixty caste is added to the existing five, is we include the Panchamas. Effectively to break precedent, the British Prime Minister must offer to India a full and

complete opportunity to serve the Empire in its time of need, and he might also declare the undesirability of the domination of the latest caste arrived in India. The Public Services Commission has not only bowed before precedent, but it has created new precedents for the future. Break them, Mr. Lloyd George, in the name of that Keltic imagination to which the Empire looks for its new freedom."

Vernacular Papers.

I. Foreign Politics.

42. The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 20th January, writes:-

The Globe and India?

The Globe suggests the advisability of including the chiefs and nobility among the assets of the British Empire, and shows that, if the resources of India be utilised together with those of South Africa, there will be no difficulty in the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war.

The Jaridah thinks that the opinion of the Globe is worth adopting and adds that now is the time for the princes and chiefs to give still more assistances in men and money.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

62. The Hindu Nesan, of the 17th January, writes on

Indian Indentured labour.

this subject very much in the same strain as the Swadesamitran of the 16th January--vide article No.70 of Report No. 3, page 149.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, has the following in its telegraphic columns with also a Telugu rendering thereof:-

Indentured system of labour.

"Allahabad, January 19.

"A largely attended public meeting was held at Allahabad this evening in connection with the indentured system of labour. The Hon'ble Pundit Motilal Nehru presided and announced that Mr. Andrews who was to have addressed the meeting took suddenly ill and was unable to be present but Mr. Polak would read the speech he would have delivered himself. Mr. Andrews gave a very vivid description of the horrors of the system in Fiji which he personally could vouch for and spoke of the utter degradation of women in the Colony who were forced by an inhuman and servile system to a life of legalised prostitution and he held that the Government of India was responsible for the system which called for immediate abolition. It was a moral cancer which ate into the life of India and the only remedy, said Mr. Andrews, was to cut it out at once."

The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th January, says:- Mr. Andrews writes that indentured labour is legalised prostitution and that it should at once be cut out. Lord Hardinge recommended the entire abolition of the system. But it has not as yet been abolished. Mr. Andrews says that the English merchants in the Fiji Islands represented to the Secretary of State that if they were not supplied with coolies, their plantations would suffer, and by their influence got the system to remain in force for five years more.

This is the reason why coolies are still sent. One woman is sent with every three men. So prostitution is rife in those islands. Mr. Andrews said that for the sake of humanity it should be stopped. The merchants in the Fiji Islands have entrapped the Secretary of State. Lord Chelmsford proposes to send coolies on the kangani system. While Lord Hardinge wanted to abolish it, Lord Chelmsford proposed to adopt a new system under pressure from the Secretary of State. But the new system has not yet come into force. Coolies are yet being sent under the old system. By this evil, the stamp of prostitution still attaches to Indian women. The History of the Fiji Islands bear testimony to many murders, animosities, and fightings due to three of four men keeping one woman. Living in such prostitution, and spending much for food, etc., these people return home economically and physically impoverished. We pray that His Excellency the Viceroy will soon put an end to this system of indentured labour.

The paper then quotes the following from the New India:- "The Government should consider how they will feel it for service, if, under dark-coloured masters, one white woman is sent with three white coolies under a system of indentured labour. They will be incensed greatly and turn against them. It is not known why they do not grow angry when there is change of colour.

India and the Colonies.

63. The Hindu Nesan, of the 11th January, gives the following summary of a lecture said to have been delivered on this subject by Mr. Tilak at a largely attended meeting held in Nagpur recently:- The members of the Round Table and Lord Sydenham are saying that India should not be given any political reforms, and that

the Colonies should have a hand in the administration of this country. The Indians should therefore make most persistent efforts to obtain swaraj. We should start our work for it at once, both in India and in England. It is only Swaraj that can keep down Colonial rule.

Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. Curtis.

64. The Hindu Nesan, of the 16th January, quotes the following from a letter written to the Capital by its Bombay correspondent:- It is wearisome to see the useless fight in which those belonging to the journal of the Round Table engage themselves in this time of war. Just as the Government makes protective laws to prevent the import of certain commodities, it will do well to make laws forbidding strollers like Sir Valentine Chrol and Mr. Curtis from coming into India.

A case against a coolie in Ceylon.

67. A correspondent writes to the Swadesamitran, of the 19th January:- A coolie named Ramaswami was charged before the Magistrate of Ratnapuri in Ceylon with desertion from his work on a plantation. The explanation give by the coolie was that he applied to the superintendent for a release chit and offered to pay the amount due by him, that the superintendent thereupon instructed the kangani to tie up the coolie to a tree and that he therefore ran away, fearing ill-treatment, that the kangani then tied up the coolie's wife to a tree and beat her for having prompted him to apply for a chit and that the coolie and his wife were

kept under guard for a week to prevent them from filing a complaint against the plantation people. The coolie therefore pleaded not guilty; but the Magistrate sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for a month instead of a fine and in default to simple imprisonment.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

68. Referring to the delay caused by the Government in publishing this report, the Swadesamitran, of the 18th January, says:- The publication of this report is being delayed month after month and the suspense of the people is increasing. Let alone the consideration whether the expense to which India has been put on account of this Commission will have an adequate return. The doubt arises whether it will be advisable to publish the report and thus increase the disappointment of the people at the present moment when discontent prevails in India at the indifference of the British politicians and the British public to the aims and aspirations of the Indians, in spite of the dignified utterances of the former that questions affecting India will hereafter receive more liberal consideration.

The Indian war loan.

71. Writing on this subject the Swadesamitran, of the 20th January, observes:- Sir William Meyer has stated on several occasions that if a war loan is raised in India, the Government of India will, on the whole, be hampered by it, in its financial condition. He has also said that though a separate loan is not raised here, India is helping England with money in several other ways.

We have pointed out that India has rendered help to England to the extent of 12 crores of rupees by treating this amount as a loan in the matter of trade and currency exchange between India and England. And yet some Anglo-Indians complain against a war loan not being raised India and charge the Indians with not having rendered sufficient help to the British people in this great war. We trust, however, that the Government has not been influenced by the words of these men in having determined to raise the loan now, but has done so after having satisfied itself that the financial condition of India admits of it. We take it that the Government of India is in a position to show a balance on hand this year in its revenue after meeting the charges and is therefore raising a loan for the war. But the Government should satisfy itself that the financial condition of the country will be favourable next year also, as it is likely that, on account of the war, the sources of Government revenue may be reduced. As a result of the present war loan, it will be difficult for the Government of India to raise a loan for itself when it has a necessity to fall back upon it. It is not enough that the financial condition of the Government is favourable at the present moment. It will be necessary to have the assurance that India will not have to seek the help of other countries, however long the war may last.

The special war loan in India.

Referring to the decision, of the Government to raise a special war loan in India to help the British Government, the Manorama, of the 23rd January, points out that though the people will be glad to contribute

towards the loan, it is doubtful whether they will have at their disposal enough money to give, as they must have already contributed to the Imperial loan, and observes that as it is the duty of every subject to make any sacrifice for the sake of crushing the enemy, it is to be hoped that the necessary funds will pur in to make the loan a complete success.

What will Mr. Curtis say to this?

72. Referring to certain instances in a paper called the Indian Opinion, to show how justice is administered in one way to the Indians and in another way to the Europeans, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th January, says:- When it is pointed out in this country how the Indians are subjected to ill-treatment in South Africa in a manner that must be heart-rending to all, men like Mr. Curtis bring a charge that it is attempted to create animosity in India against the Colonies. The Indian Opinion says "It is not an individual magistrate that administers justice in this partial manner. It is the same all over the Colonies." What will Mr. Curtis say to this?

Reconstruction of the empire.

79. In its leader on the subject of the reconstruction of the empire, the Andhrapatrika, of the 16th January, says:- The endeavours that the members of the Round Table are making towards the refashioning of the empire are praiswerthy byt they do not seem to be well considreed. . . . .

No colony would forego its individuality and independence and merge itself in the empire. When an Imperial Government is not possible among nations closely related to one another in tradition, blood, religion and language, it is not strange that such a Government is impossible in the case of dependencies. The contention of Mr. Keith that such a Government in the case of dependencies is becoming difficult cannot be gainsaid. The Colonies do not admit the Asiatics and the Africans to set foot on their soil. They look with contempt even on those who have lived with them for long. No one would agree to Indians being governed by such Colonies. This is opposed to the individuality and self-respect of the Indians. These selfish Colonies would rather have millions of acres uninhabited than agree to Indians settling there. Is it proper that countries which refuse admission to Indians should exercise authority on them, ...In that case, those that determine the means of the defence of the empire will happen to be different from those that have to bear the expenditure. The integral parts of the empire, especially India, will not have adequate representation, but will have to bear the expenditure of maintaing a larger army than at present. If the British Isles do not venture to treat the proposals of the self-governing Dominions with scordn, the Dependencies will be reduced to a sad plight. The protection of the empire will pass from the hands of the Parliament to those of the Imperial Parliament, and we will find ourselves in the hands of the Colonials who act in violation of our self-respect. This will not tend to our welfare. If India should be included in the reconstruction of the empire in this manner, it would result in an increase of animosity and not in the

growth of friendship. The goal of the Indian is swaraj under the British Empire. We will be happy and India will thrive if the members of the Round Table do not have anything to do with India.

80. Referring to the letter addressed to the members of the Round Table

Mr. Curtis.

the Andhrapatrika, of the 16th January, says:- Mr. Gandhi wrote that it is ~~sup-~~ improper to fail to publish a letter written with the object of undermining a house simply because it was marked to be private.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th January, writes:- The Madras Mail says that Mr. Curtis came here with the good intention of ascertaining what place India should occupy in the reconstruction of the empire. If it is said that a person who was responsible for the law which tr ats an Indian as an outcast in South Africa came with an impartial mind, even a foot will find it difficult to believe it. The Mail may believe that Mr. Curtis who wrote that they should be prepar d even to meet with bloodshed if India does not submit to "these five nations" is not conspiring with the members of the Round Table, but how can an Indian believe it?

91. The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd January, gives the principal points in Mr. Polak's address

May the Colonies be allowed to rule India.

on this subject, in which appear the following:- We learn from the book of Mr. L. Curtis, that the colonies were founded by adventurous persons who left Europe to rob it of its wealth. . . . . .In the wars

between the French and the English, the red Indians of Canada were employed on both sides and almost extirpated ....The English that colonised New Zealand fought with the Mauris, the aboriginal inhabitants and destroyed most of them. . . . . In Australia the original inhabitants were deliberately destroyed as also those of Tasmania. . . . . It is well known to those of your country that a man-eater that has tasted the blood of man relishes no other thing. So the people in the Colonies desired for more, as more regard was shown them. . . . . Canada was responsible for the conspiracies in the Punjab. . . . . .The case of South Africa need not be mentioned. The Indians in that place are all coolies, or are treated as worse than coolies. Coolie in the language of the Fizi Islands means a dog and the Indians there are treated as dogs. To allow such Colonies a share in the administration of India will be to appoint a tiger to rule over goats. . . . . .It is better that the British Empire should come to an end than that the machinations of the Round Table should succeed.

Political reforms.

94. Referring to the rumour that the Indian rulers have addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for India on the subject of political reforms, the Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, says:- It does not speak well of the wisdom of the rulers that they should keep matters affecting the welfare of the country and

agitating the minds of the people, secret. There is no use publishing them after the whole work is finished. It will be advantageous if the rulers say what reforms they proposed to introduce, what relations they propose to establish between the Colonies and India and how they are going to defend the country.

96. The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, says:- Even the Indians in England are not appointed to military offices. English young men who join the army as soldiers may one day become officers. But Indian young men must always remain as sepoys. Why should such an unnecessary difference be made?

Indians in the army.

97. The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th January, says:- In the matter of the attempt to bring India under the authority of the Colonies, Indian officers should not take any part as the rule that officials should have nothing to do with political matters, equally applies to them. But in the Round Table, it is announced that Mr. Morris, the head of the Police in the United Provinces, is the representative in India of the Round Table group. It is not only unlawful but is improper and unjust that Mr. Morris who is paid thousands from the Indian revenue, is the representative of the Curtis group who propose to do great harm to India. If Lord Chelmsford does not interfere, he will give room for the suspicion that one law prevails for the Indian officials and another for the English. That the Government helped Mr. Curtis by publishing his letter in the Allahabad Government Press, and Sir V. Chirol in the Tilak-Chirol case, have led the public to suspect that the rulers are partial in these matters. To gove room for such suspicion is not good.

The Round Table.

His Excellency the Viceroy should therefore interfere in this matter.

101. The Kistnapatrika, of the 30th December, has the following note:-

The Pioneer.

The Pioneer of Allahabad, which is edited by an Englishman, has neither published the address of the Congress President nor made any comments thereon. Indeed it is now that the Congress has been able to shut the month of one Anglo-Indian paper. . . . .

105. In its column of contemporary opinions, the Andhra-patrika, of the 22nd January,

The memorandum of the members of the Imperial Council.

quotes the comments of the Invester's Review, reproduced in the India, on the memorandum. The following statements appear in it:- The people of the other countries in Asia are of opinion that the state of the Indians is so low. . . . . .Are we to accord such miserable treatment to the Indians, as the Hobsburgs(sic) do to croats, zeschs and slads that unfortunately fall into their hands? In former days we accorded to the Indians treatment worse than this and worse than what we like to think of. In critical times, we gave them as many promises as were required. We repeatedly uttered sweet words. We not only forgot these promises and the sweet words, but also, like Prussians, though not so cruelly, but following methods like theirs, exercised despotism and oppressed the people. See what our despotism is at the present moment, doing to the printing presses of India. The baseness of this despotism is more abominable than its tyranny is terrible. . . . . It does not become people who are free-minded.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd January,

The memorandum of the Member/ of the Imperial Council.

summarises the comments of the Investor's Review on the memorandum, already abstracted from the issue of the 22nd (supra), and reminds them for the consideration of the authorities.

108. In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika,

The question of the Great Empire.

of the 22nd January, says:- If the opinions published by Mr. L.Curtis were his own, there would be no need for taking notice of them, but it will appear that they are the opinions of the advocates of British authority when the associations and environments of Mr. Curtis are considered. Hence the need for taking note of and refuting them. . . . . India which is a dependency has no voice in her own as well as imperial matters. These are entirely in the hands of the British people. . . . . .The Indians have no rights of British citizenship in the Colonies nor in their own country, while the people of other countries enjoy rights in India that are denied to her sons. . . . . .Coolies are being sent from India to the Colonies and other countries under the system of indentured labour. The rulers have recognised that this system is opposed to the self-respect of the Indians and to justice, and have agreed to abolish it; but it is understood that the practice is still going on. . . . . .When the people of the Colonies are admitted to British citizenship, the people in the colonies will have a share in the administration of the dependencies, and the way will be opened for 170 lakhs of them to exercise Government over 30 crores of Indians along with the British people. To shove aside to a corner

30 crores of ~~Indians-along-with-the~~ of people and show favour to those in the Colonies, will be prejudicial to the safety of the empire and not beneficial to it. Mr. Curtis set about the solution of the imperial problem, but is going to decide that the strength of the white races is the main principle of the Empire. The people in the dependencies do not object to Britain admitting the people of the Colonies to British citizenship as desired by Mr. Curtis, but there is no reason to believe that they would submit to the domination of the Colonies. That the British Empire may be strong and stable, Indians must be admitted to British citizenship as the people of the Colonies.

121. The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd January, observes

The Press Act.

that the Press Act is a halter around the neck of the printing presses, and a spot on the liberty-loving British Empire, and that the assurances made at the time of its passing have not been kept. It dwells upon the disabilities it imposes on the press, and concludes the article with a prayer that His Excellency the Viceroy will have the Act abolished and win the gratitude of the people.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 3RD FEBRUARY 1917.

No. 5 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

1. The Indian Patriot, of the 30th January, remarks:-

The Public Services Commission and the Police department.

"The recommendations of the Public Services Commission in regard to the Police Department are interesting. They place the Police on the same footing as the Civil Service in political importance. Yet they do not make the same recommendations in regard to the Police as they do in regard to the Civil Service so far as Indians are concerned. . . . . .The rules for competition in England provide only for the admission of European subjects of British descent. But they are prepared to modify the rule so as to admit both Europeans of mixed descent and Indians of unmixed Asiatic descent, who have been educated in the United Kingdom for a period of five years prior to the examination. So far as Indians are concerned, the concession is practically useless, since very rarely does an Indian youth go to England to stay there for so long a period as five years. . . . . .Why should not both Assistant Superintendents recruited in England and Deputy Superintendents recruited in India

be treated alike as members of the Civil Service? For the latter service there is provision for recruitment of a fourth in India, and we do not find any distinction suggested between those recruited in England and those recruited in India. Why should not the same principle be followed in the case of the Police Service which is regarded almost in the same manner as the Civil Service? . . . . .Why should local recruitment on the same terms be granted in the case of the Civil Service and not in the case of the Police Service? Is it because there was clamour for simultaneous examinations in one case, to satisfy which some device had to be made? After all, the attempt made by some Congressmen at the last Congress does not seem to be absurd in the light of the difference made in regard to every service in India. . . . . .While we fix our attention on the Civil Service, we are apt to overlook the significance of the proposals made in regard to other departments. The proposals of the Commission in regard to the Police appear to be quite unsatisfactory. There is practically no improvement except that instead of two there will be four Superintendents of Police. An examination of the rest of the report will, we fear, disclose the same feature; and our opinion is that the Commission need not have been appointed at all to tell us that on the Civil Service and on the Police Department rest the whole of the British Empire in India.

(k) General.

4. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 28th January, remarks:-

Indentured labour.

"The much talked of

domination of the dominions over Indian policy has naturally aroused considerable feeling in India, but there is already existing one kind of domination which we have not yet succeeded in removing. In the matter of the supply of indentured labour to work the plantations of the Colonies, the voice of the Dominions has been supreme and in spite of the repeated protests of the Government of India, supported by the unanimous voice of the articulate section of the Indian community, not only nothing has been done to remove it, but everything is being done to support the Dominions. Lord Hardinge felt that the indentured system must go and assured an early termination of it, but Lord Chelmsford, when he assumed office, was convinced more of the cogency of the Colonial view than that of the country he has been called upon to rule and now comes the announcement that the Colonial Government have decided upon continuing the indentured system for another five years in the Island of Fiji. Now, Fiji happens to be one of the islands visited by the Rev.C.F. Andrews and his account of the shameful immorality prevailing there is shocking to anyone except those who think that the plantations of the islanders are of more value to the Empire than the morality of the coolies. It is a pity, and we do not want to put it more strongly, that the Colonial Government should have such poor notions of humanity and the ethical code that should prevail among the coolies, but it is time that the Government of India interfered and put their feet down up a system which is so inhuman and so revolting to all sense of decency. The material well-being of the Fiji Islands cannot be of greater value to the Government

of India than the moral well-being of the Indians sent over there to help to make them earn their money, and we trust that Lord Chelmsford's Government will not be less strong in condemning and calling for the abolition of the system than the Government of Lord Hardinge."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 31st January, says:- "There can be no better and more striking proof of the political degradation of the people of India than the fact that a public meeting had to be held last evening at the Young' Men's Christian Association Hall to protest against the continuance of the system of indentured Indian coolies to British Colonies. Protests of this sort have been made time after time, in the public press, on the platform, and in the meetings of the Legislative Council. The evils of the system have been pointed out in unmistakable language by Indian leaders and patriots of the stamp of Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi and others, and enough facts have been laid bare to show that the system is a blot on civilization, and a reproach to a civilised Government. If the people of India or the more enlightened section of them had a potent voice in the administration of the affairs of their own country and in shaping the well-being of their fellow countrymen and countrywomen, the indenture system would never have been permitted, or if introduced, would have been swept off long ago as soon as its most glaring evils began to be apprehended. We have no hesitation in saying that the legitimate outcry of the people against this pernicious system is still a cry in the wilderness is due to their present political subordination. . . . . .If now, as is

asserted from reliable information, the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary for the Colonies have agreed or are about to agree to a continuance of the pernicious indenture system of Indian labour for five years morek it is not only the grossest injustice, but a definite breach of the promise given to the people by the Viceroy of India on assurances of support previously obtained from the Secretary of State. If not only the acknowledged inherent evils of the system, as well as the pledged word of the head of the Indian Government to do away with it do not stand the people of India in good stead, their condition is indeed a pitiable one. The subject is one in which the Indians and all right-thinking Europeans are at one. The Lord Bishop of Madras, who presided at the meeting and the Rev. Mr. Leith, gave their support to the protest. The noble and disinterested labours of Englishmen like Mr. C.F. Andrews deserve our warmest gratitude."

The Indian Patriot, of the 31st January, observes:- "No controversy, however, will enter deeper into the minds of the people than indentured emigration. By his presence and support, the Lord Bishop of Madras has stamped upon the movement the highest moral support. Christians and Hindus and Muhammadans all feel alike. There was no mistake about the feelings at yesterday's monster meeting. Indians are not degraded animals, and imagination sickens at the very description of the immorality and sin forced upon the people of India. Cannot the Government stop it today and at this hour? Can anyone stand by and see the housewife lured to the depot and forced to be the common wife of four? This is a scandal and a shame and imagination shudders at the description give by Mr. Andrews. It is well that popular

indignation pours forth as it does, and we sincerely hope that in Lord Chelmsford we shall have a Viceroy who will give the same generous response to popular opinion as Lord Hardinge did on a similar occasion. The Viceroy should take the very earliest opportunity to make a pronouncement on the subject."

7. The Indian patriot of the 29th January, states:-
[Indians in South Africa]
"No echo, it seems, can come from the Indian quarters of South Africa, but that it must awaken in our minds sorrowful reflection. The latest is about the time-expired Indians who find, at the hour and place of embarkations, that they could not go to India. There is no official explanation of this sudden suspension of repatriation. The Transvaal official, of course, has other things to attend to than the stranded Indian coolie at the wharf and so a most pitiable situation is being perpetrated.c. . . . . To us these piteous sufferings are touching; the tragedy is that these sufferings could easily be remedied by prompt action of Government. There is much needless misery forced upon a people already groaning."

8. <u>India and the Imperial War Conference.</u> (2nd para)

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 31st January, says:--"We cannot expect the British people to question the right of Sir James Meston and Sir S.P. Sinha to represent the Indian nation, but everyone in this country is aware of the fact that Sir James Meston merely represents the European bureaucracy, and Sir S.P. Sinha those Indians who are in the habit of living in official circles. The real public opinion of India is left entirely unrepresented. We blame neither Lloyd George

nor Austen Chamberlain; they have never been to India and know nothing about the country. But surely we are entitled to ask that Indian affairs shall be in the hands of those who really understand them, and who are in close touch with the condition and aspirations of the people themselves. The Daily Mail seems to think that the Indian army and the Indian Princes represent India. Whatever may be the position of the Indian army, certainly the Indian Princes have not the slightest title to represent British India. They may represent their respective States, but they cannot possibly have anything to do with the territories for whose government the bureaucracy is responsible. The Indian people, too, have suffered in the cause of freedom in the war, and are now wondering whether, after helping other people to win their freedom, there will be any left over for themselves. At present it certainly does not look like it, and the situation is by no means improved by the inclusion, as a representative of India, of a Lieutenant-Governor who has been involved in the scheme of Curtis, Marris & Co., to keep India in indefinite subjection. Imaginative statesmanship would have summoned Mr. Tilak and Sir Sankaran Nayar to the Imperial Council, for between them these two great Indians represent all shades of public opinion. It is because India's needs are so continuously ignored that we have ceased to trust to the present system of Government for any radical improvement in the welfare of this country. Home Rule is the only possible solution of the many critical problems which face us today, and we shall not rest until we get it."

9. The Public Services Commission. (4th para)

remarks:

Humanity, for the fortnight ending 28th January/-

"The mountain has been in labour and brought forth a mouse. The Public Services Commission's Report is a worthless document not worth the lakhs and lakhs of rupees spent upon it. It is not even worth the paper on which it is printed in these days of paper famine. . . . . .Why the authorities should have published the report now after having postponed its publication for so long a time passes one's comprehension. Knowing that the report would evoke a storm of indignation they must not have published it in the interests of their peace of mind and ought not to have caused heart-burning to thousands of His Majesty's most loyal Indian subjects during the continuance of the war and at a time when a stage has been reached when the Empire under its new Premier is determined to win or die. India is called upon to contribute handsomely in money, though not in men and the men who should create the public opinion necessary for the success of the loan and those who ought to pay cheerfully from their pockets must be in a jolly frame of mind to think of loosening their purse strings. If by publishing this report Government thought they were satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people they are sadly mistaken. Instead they have dropped an apple of discord, they have accentuated the already existing strong differences between the Indian and Anglo-Indian angles of vision and have unnecessarily invoked a storm of controversy. Far, far better would it have been if the report had not seen the light of day at all. . . . . .The bureaucracy in India sticks most tenaciously to its guns and will never advance the

political amelioration of the country as speedily as it should. People are really feeling that they must depart from the mendicant policy of begging for this and that reform but to demand Home Rule as a birthright and to carry a most vigorous constitutional agitation here and in England. . . . . .To throw open a miserable number of only seven seats for competition for Indians, while three-fourths of the number should still continue to be recruited from the ranks of mere English boys of 17 and 18 years, who would rule hundreds of miles of land, and lakhs of men irresponsibly and who are ordinarily out of touch with Indian feelings and sentiments and do not take the trouble to understand them is to perpetuate a state of things fit for the India of a century ago, not for the India of the year of grace 1917. . . . . .The hope of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford that he would wish to see India self-governing at some distant date can never come to be realised. It is wonderful that while within thirty years Japan by her own unassisted exertions could revolutionise her own life and become the mistress of the East, we, in India, after 150 years of British rule, should still be considered not only unfit for self-government but even for 50 per cent of the civil service appointments after thirty years. The American cousins of the British nation within 18 years made the Phillippine Islands what they are today. Within the next decade the Flippinos will have full self-government. What, then, is wrong with India or what is wrong with England? That question we do not wish to answer now. We will content ourselves with saying that the publication of this report becomes a great calamity unless His Excellency the Viceroy gives an assurance that this not only illiberal but distinctly retrograde report shall not only not be

accepted by the Government of India but that greater concessions in the light of the resolutions of the Indian National Congress on Public Services would be made to satisfy the aspirations of a people whose heart is now throbbing with the confidence begotten of the consciousness of their great destiny in an Empire over which the sun never sets."

(7th para.)

The Hindu, of the 30th January, observes:-
"Reuter has thought it necessary to telegraph to India a long message summarising the views of the London Times on the report of the Indian Public Services Commission . . . . .Our contemporary praises Lord Islington's discreet and moderating influence as reflected in the fact that, with the exception of a single Member, all others have signed it. The Times is, perhaps, in the know, for Sir Valentine Chirol was a Member of the Commission, and it is therefore enabled to say that Lord Islington used his powers of persuasion in rendering the recommendations as liberal as they may be supposed to be by people of the views of the Times. His Lordship may deserve the praise; perhaps, but for his good offices Indians may not have obtained even the little that has been given. But the Indian public look at the matter from a higher and altogether different point of view. . . . . .The higher ground is that the exclusion--policy hitherto adopted and to be practically stereotyped should the Commission's suggestions be adopted, is an act of gross political injustice, which sets at nought the claims of the sons of the soil to occupy the highest administratiove and executive posts in their own country, and ignores the ability, the knowledge of the country, that they possess which would enable them to get behind the

skins of the people into and understand them better than the alien officers, birds of passage, who retire and go away at an early age when they had adquired valuable experience at the cost of India which does not therefore get the full value for the money thus spent in training them. . . . . .It is ludicrous to suppose that the report is destined to bring greater contentment and wider experience; on the other hand, its highly retrograde character will onoy deepen the discontent that the Commission was appointed to remove . . . . .But there are limits which the thunderer would place on a policy of generous prudence. The main structure of the administration, it says, should be maintained, the power and authority vested in British Civil Servants should not be dangerously curtailed, and it was necessary that it should be recognised that the Briton was a better administrator than an Indian. These assumptions are closely related to the dictum propounded by the Commission that the British character of the administration should be maintained. The logical consequence of this pernicious doctrine is the perpetual bondage of India, the rule by a foreign bureaucracy and the denial of primary rights of Indians to hold a predominating number of appointments in their own country. . . . . .The Times has at least appreciated, though reluctantly, the need for larger employment of Indians at some sacrifice of efficiency. But it has been reserved to the Madras Mail to adduce a curious, mischievous and absolutely dishonest reason for the perpetuation of the existing narrow and illiberal policy. Our contemporary, as our readers know, has lately begun a campaign of vilification of Indian leaders, It has commenced a crusade against the Indian demand for more political rights.- a crusade in which it has shown

little moderation and less balance of judgment. . . . . .We do not consider it necessary to waste any words on such irresponsible twaddle which is meant to be taken for cleverness. With anamazing lack of understanding, not to say, perspective, our contemporary betrays woeful want of reasoning power when it presumes to perceive an inconsistency between the demands for self-government and for larger employment of Indians."

(10th para)

The Hindu, of the 2nd February, has the following:- "The point is seriously put forward with reference to the utterly **disappointing results** of the Public Services Commission that Indians have come to lay less emphasis on places in the public services and more on control of policy, and that no great political results are to be expected at the present time from a larger employment of Indians in high offices. The argument is tantamount to saying that if we urge that good government is no substitute for self-government, we do not attach value to the benefits of good government. It is, at the same time, an elementary proposition that a large infusion of Indian element in the higher offices in the public service is a sure means of obtaining a control of the policy of the Government. Consider the ease with which large questions of administrative reform are solved in enlightened Indian States. The subject of elementary education and matters connected with the social and religious ~~usuages~~ usages of the people are known to be dealt with far more smoothly and expeditiously in Native States than in British India in consequence of the ruler being in touch with the people, and the administration being carried on not by foreigners but by natives of the country

. . . . The feeling of deep discontent here indicated, among Indian officials of all ranks at the present day, is all but universal, and it is only Englishmen who are blind to the larger interests of the Empire that cannot see the political danger involved in it."

19. The West Coast Spectator, of the 30th January,

The Times(London) and India. Writes:--"For political someresaults the old lady of Printing House Square is hard to beat. The non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council represented articulate public opinion and got pats on the back from the old dame when they carried a resolution on loyalty on the outbreak of the war. But when they signed the now famous memorandum on post-war reforms they pepresented no body; the old lady said so, roaring like a sucking dove!. . . . .
For political prejudice and conventional cant, that is second nature with a certain type of Tory, for perverse and involuted presentation of facts, this first article on Indian affairs carries off the palm. . . . .
. . . . .We must not demand reforms, we must taboo controversies, we are unfit for any measure of self-government, we must remain for centuries more in our political swaddling clothes guided by some kindly Anglo-Indian and studying the political gospel under direction of the Northcliffe gramaphones--this is the text of the sermon the Times preaches. But the Times of today is not the Times of Delane; it is one of the many gramaphones grinding out 'His Master's Voice'--that is Lord Northcliffe's, and we can afford to brush aside the insincere clap-trap flowing galore from Printing House Square."

21. In a leader on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 31st January, says:--"The New Statesman has an interesting article on the political outlook of India. It is written with knowledge and insight and correctly represents the situation in India. While the Morley reforms of 1909-10 and the subsequent royal visit set going various influences which tended to strengthen the position of the Moderate politicians, the course of events since the outbreak of the war has worked in the opposite direction. 'The older leaders,' says the writer, 'have markedly lost ground. Along with the heads of all the established communities in India they declared, in unqualified terms, their support of the Empire in its ordeal, and they have throughout made it perfectly clear that the last thing sought was to make political capital out of the war. They have, indeed, thrown all their influence with those of their influential countrymen who, as Mr. Austen Chamberlain put it, 'have been patiently working under circumstances sometimes of great difficulty to preserve the Pax Britannica from Peshawar to Ceylon. Their conduct furnishes proof of remarkable restraint, and its significance has been fully appreciated by the more enlightened officials, as by the three Presidency Governors. But on the other hand, the younger nationalists ask impatiently what good this restraint and consideration have brought to the Indian cause. The wonderful outburst of Indian loyalty and the immense military and other services rendered to the Empire evoked, they observe, no end of verbal recognition, but nothing else. Where is there any concrete evidence of Indian affairs being regarded as

The Political outlook of India.

every one two years ago was saying they must, and would be, from a different angle of vision.'. . . . . .The younger people assume an attitude far from ~~a-different-a~~ reverential, and they taunt the elders with their profitless subserviency. Lord Morley's policy of rallying the Moderates wonderfully succeeded at the time, because there were what appeared like substantial concessions to popular opinion. . . . . .It now rests with the Government which party will gain ascendency in the Congress. The Government must do something, must take some steps in advance, must show more sympathy and generosity, if the leaders of old are not to be altogether discredited and effaced. . . . . .More than these evidences of a reactionary attitude on the part of Englishmen with a prestige, is the evidence furnished by the Public Services Commission of the dominant British spirit towards India. The young nationalist will certainly point out that nothing which the people have been most earnestly asking for have been granted; that the proposal for simultaneous examinations has been rejected; that age for Civil Service has been so altered as to make it impossible for Indians to compete in England; that more than the formal abolition of the distinction of superior and inferior services without virtually affecting it there is no concession to Indian opinion; that with regard to the old question of separation of judicial and executive functions there is still shown the old hesitation to transfer power from the executive. The Public Services Commission Report is the worst document that could have

been presented to the Indian public at this moment. . . . . .Let nobody in India think that the young nationalist will accept the assurance that free institutions are the special privilege of the west. Young men leaving universities with ideas of freedom, nationality and self-government will resent the suggestion of unfitness of self-government for eastern soil. Det the admission be frankly made that it is not a question of fitness, but of training and preparation; and let every step that is taken be in accordance with this aim be such as will help the speedy progress of the people towards the goal."

22. The following appears in the Hindu of the 2nd February:- "We publish elsewhere the full test of the statements made by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris at the meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council held on Monday last, regarding their connection with the Round Table propaganda. Two facts stand out prominently: one is that the worst fears of the Indian public have proved true regarding the objectionable association with a political body, of some European officials in India who get paid handsome salaries and who do not scruple to use their position to engage themselvves in questionable political propaganda. The second is that the Government of India have apparently administered an admonition to His Honour and his associates in the 'study group' at Agra the nature of which Sir James has sought to obscure by saying graciously that the accepts the opinion of the Government of India that officials should not in future be members of the Round Table groups in India. . . . .

The Government of the United Provinces and the Round Table.

The rules relating to the conduct of Government servants are quite clear, and the public would certainly want to know what action is proposed to be taken in respect of high and responsible officials who have taken such an intimate part in Round Table politics. The mere expression of an opinion cannot satisfy the requirements of the case which is one of the most insidious that we have come across in India and more dangerous than many others against which the authorities have not hesitated to take very severe measures. . . . .
It is already the misfortune of India to see her paid servants streneously opposing reforms in her internal administration. As if this were not enough, she has now to witness the spectacle of her servants associating with a man who holds a dangerous opinion. This is an intolerable situation, and it is a phenomenon which can happen only in India where the people have no effective voice in the administration."

23. The Hindu, of the 2nd February, states:--"The Following notice was served today on the printer and publisher of the Hindu:-

The Government of Madras and Mr. B.P. Wadia.

> Whereas it has been brought to the notice of His Excellency the Governor in Council that you are about to publish a speech which Mr. B.P. Wadia recently delivered at Amraoti, Central Provinces, and which he proposes to repeat in Madras;
>
> and whereas, in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council the publication of the said speech will be prejudicial to the public safety.
>
> His Excellency the Governor in Council under the authority vested in him by Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, hereby directs you to abstain from such publication.
>
> (By order of the Governor in Council)

Fort St. George,
2nd February 1917.

J.P. Bedford.
Chief Secretary.

We have perused, with much surprise, the above order which is an unprecedented one, neither consistend with the position of the Government nor of this journal. It contains an absurd and wholly unfounded statement that we are about to publish a speech which Mr. B.P. Wadia recently delivered at Amraoti, Central Provinces, and which he proposes to repeat in Madras. We do not know how it came to the notice of His Excellency the Governor in Council that we were about to publish the speech to which reference is made. The circumstances lead us to infer that the said allegation was necessary to support the issuing of an order under the Defence of India Act, and it has been made without reference to the facts. The present order is all the more unjustifiable as we understand that Mr. B.P. Wadia has been prohibited from delivering his lecture by an order issued against him under the Defence of India Act. His Excellency the Governor in Council had no right to suppose that Mr. Wadia ~~deliver~~ would deliver the lecture in contravention of the order, and we had, as a matter of fact, received intimation from him that he was not going to deliver it in consequence of the order. We feel bound to say that the powers under the Defence of India Act are intended to be applied for more serious and fitting purposes than Lord Pentland's Government has been proper to exercise in the present case."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.
(k) General.

55. Referring to the announcement that Sir James Meston and Sir S.P.Sinha have been selected

The War Conference and the representatives of India.

as representatives to advise the Secretary of State for India and the call made by him on the Maharaja of Bikanir to be another adviser, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd January, writes:--We have to say a few words about the first two persons. The letter written by Mr. Curtis has betrayed to the public how Sir James Meston and Mr. Curtis of the Round Table are on intimate terms, and what may be the nature of the views of Sir James about Indian politics. We need not, therefore, dilate upon the nature of the advice he is likely to give to tee Secretary of State for India. As for Sir S.P. Sinha, though he is an Indian, can we say that he will freely advocate the new spirit and the present aims of the people? The choice of the Maharaja of Bikanir among the Rulers of the Native States is a proper one. But as the status and the nature of work of these representatives are a mystery, we would urge that the representatives of the people should make a request in the Imperial Legislative Council for revealing them to the public.

The men going from India to the Imperial War Conference.

With regard to the selction of Sir James Meston, Sir S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir to advise the Secretary of State for India in the Imperial War Conference the Swadesamitran, of the 24th January, publishes the following opinions expressed by some of the papers:-

Bombay Chronicle:--While Sir James Meston has to be condemned by the Government for having been associated with Mr. Curtis, it is a great surprise to find that he has been selected by the Government in this matter.

Tribune:- Though the three persons selected as representatives are each of them great in a certain respect, we should not suppose that they will do anything either for the people or for the rulers of Native States. It was not India's wish that such representatives alone should be chosen, and in this matter the choice will only cause disappointment.

India's condition and the war conference.

The Manorama, of the 26th January, takes exception to Sir James Meston's being one of the three persons, sent out from here to advise the Secretary of State who represents India at the Conference, as the Lieutenant Governor is believed to share the views, contained in Mr. Leonal Curtis' private letter to the Round Table, heartily approves the selection of the Maharaja of Biknir, points out that though there is nothing to be said against Sir S.P. Sinha's selection, it would have been better to choose one who is in no sense an official, and concludes by expressing a hope that these gentlemen, though not elected by the Indians, will see that India occupies her rightful place in the Imperial War Conference.

Writing on the same subject the Kerala Patrika, of the 27th January points out that the three persons selected from India to advise the Secretary of State at the Imperial War Conference, are eminently fitted to bring to his notice the requirements of the Indians and their present condition.

India in the Imperial War Conference.

56. In an article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 24th January, says:- It is to be

supposed that the three persons selected by the Government of India to advise the Secretary of State who will represent India in the Imperial Conference, will not have an equal footing in the Conference, with its other members. Besides, these three persons have been selected by the Government, and not by the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council. If it be true that the question of the condition of India after the war will be discussed in this Conference, it is not in the least proper that a representative chosen by the Indian people is not to be taken into consultation. When certain Anglo-Indian gentlemen like Mr. Curtis are plotting to bring India under the control of the Colonies, it is necessary that we should protect our interests by means of suitable representatives.

Imperial Conference.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th January, says:-At the Imperial Conference, the Maharaja of Bikanir will have the power to vote. This is gratifying. But it is improperto make a difference between British India and the Native States. To say that British India is inferior to Native States is to treat the British rulers, the educated Indians, and the people, lightly. It will be a source of indignation. It is not yet too late. It will satisfy the public if the representatives of the Government of India are placed on an equal position with the Maharaja of Bikanir.

Referring to the remarks of the Nation that it is not satisfactory that the Indian representatives should express their views at the Imperial Conference through

the Secretary of State for India, and that sham representation is worse than no representation, the Andhrapatrika, of the 29th January, says:- These ideas of the Nation are a proof that in the opinion of liberal English Statesmen direct representation is necessary if India is to occupy a favourable position in the Empire. It is no use to give representation only in name and to make arrangements to represent the views of the bureaucracy and not those of the people. These ideas will not be palatable to the Anglo-Indian party.

Imperial Conference.

Referring to Indian representation at the Imperial Conference, the Andhraprakasika, of the 24th January, says:- Some sort of representation is better than no representation at all. We cannot acquiesce in the opinion that representation by unqualified persons is more harmful than no representation. Although such representation may result in some disadvantages for the present, it may lead to the practice being established of India being represented at conferences like the one in question. The opinion of New India that representation by the three gentlemen selected by the Government, is a bad one, may be due to the fact that they are not thorough advocates of self-government. We advise New India not to be precipitate in this matter.

It cannot but be said that the appointment of Sir James Meston is opposed to public opinion. He suspected the Congress and is a friend of Mr. Curtis who says that it is but right that the Indians should be placed under the yoke of the Colonies. They are supposed to agree with each other in their opinions. Sir James Meston's Government does not appear to be popular. The appointment of Sir James Meston, who has not earned any

the least confidence of the people, gives room for the suspicion that the Government may have appointed him in order to oppose the aims of Indian representatives. We must put up with this evil for some time and it is not well to be in a hurry and condemn it strongly.

Swaraj for India.

60. The following appears under the head "Stray Notes by Narada" in the Prapanchamitran of the 26th January:- A wonder that has not yet taken place in the history of the world is about to happen now. England is about to give swaraj to India. She is sure to give it tomorrow, if not to-day. She is bound to give it anyhow. Many expert politicians, including Queen Victoria, have promised it. The Indians are a wonderful people. In no other country are there so many races, so many languages and so many religions. Though it may seem wonderful to strangers that such a country as India is about to get swaraj from England, which is the birth-place of independence, to me it only looks natural. It is regrettable that, at such a time as this, some persons should carry on intrigues against the British Government in some foreign countries and that they are conspiring with the Germans. If I should seek the help of foreigners, it should be that of the English people, with whom we have moved in intimacy for a hundred and fifty years. Strangers are strangers whoeverit may be. But the Englishmen are closer to us that the other nations. There is therefore nothing so foolish as to seek the help of another nation to drive away the Englishmen.

The swaraj proceedings to be conducted in Tamil.

61. In his "Stray Notes" in the prapanchamitran of the 26th January, Narada says:- I have been

regretting that the proceedings of all meetings for swaraj were conducted in English and not in Tamil. I am therefore glad to learn now that, at a swaraj association in Salem, recently, a lecture was delivered in Tamil. Will not the others also do the same?

62. The Prapanchamitran, of the 26th January, writes on this subject as follows:-

Report of the Public Services Commission.

Lord Islington was the President of this Commission and among the prominent European members of it were Lord Ronaldshay who has been appointed Governor of Bengal, Mr. Sly who is now President of the Public Works Commission, and Sir Valentine Chirol who has woved to cause hindrance to the hopes and aspirations of the people of India and who is the defendent in the suit filed by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The report of the Commission was ready for publication as soon as the war broke out. But it was stated then that its recommendations were opposed to the expectations of the Indian public and that their publication was delayed as it was not advisable to create heart-burning to the people during the war. Now the authorities have changed their mind somehow, and have published the report. The cry of the Congress for the last 32 years has again proved futile. Such is the nature of the recommendations made by this Commission, which have caused us great vexation and regret. As for the Ministers in England, they have begun to forget India more and more. In the present circumstances, swaraj seems to us to be only a day-dream.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th January, says:-

Public Services Commission.

While the Public Services Commission recommended the abolition of the grant of exchange compensation to the Indian Civil Servants, they recommended an increase in the amount of their salaries to make up for the loss. What leaves by the back door enters by the street door. It is gratifying indeed that the Commission should have seen that the European officers who earn by thousands do not sustain any loss.

Reviewing the report, the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th January, makes the following observations:-

Report of the Public Services Commission.

The report of the Public Services Commission published by the Government is completely disappointing to the people. No one has thought that such an insipid report would be published in these times of war and swaraj agitation when it is proclaimed that the angle of vision of the English statesmen has changed.......... The whole of Indian administration rests with the westerners; and all the high posts are in their hands; the more the pay and greater is their majority among the holders of posts............. The Commission was appointed to remedy this unsatisfactory condition and provide for conferring high posts on Indians...... ....Though military men may be required for the Survey department, they do not appear to be necessary for the Engineering department. To reserve so many posts for them looks like mere race partiality........ .... The apportionment of appointments to Civil Service by the Commission is opposed to experience and does not recognise the new spirit that has been awakened in the country, nor the aspirat ons of the Indians.

The Government of Madras sent in a recommendation in 1893, that a third of the high appointments must be conferred on the Indians. No advocate of bureaucracy can say that to reduce the proportion from 33 to 21, 33 years after that indicates a liberal spirit or a changed angle of vision on the part of the English. . . . . .That the lowering of the age limit of the Indians competing for Civil Service examination is to throw impediments in their way is clear to any shallow-minded person. To say that the country will profit by the English entering service earlier is a pretext and not the truth. . . . . .Simultaneous examinations have been rejected. Age restriction has been created for the competitive Civil Service examination, and changes have been introduced in the curriculum affording facilities for students of the English schools. . . . . .Economists like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale have declared than in no other country in the world is the expenditure of administration so heavy as in India, and, while the people were looking forward for a curtailment therein it has been increased by many lakhs a year. . . . .
The indifference of the members of the Commission towards the important question of the separation of the judicial from the executive is a proof of their love of power. . . . . .It is not proper that the Commission should, instead of showing equal consideration to all races, show partiality to the Anglo-Indians. . . . . The members of the Commission have striven to confirm the advantages of the bureaucracy which is well known for their abbitrary authority and their wealth and luxury, but not to gratify national aspirations and popular desires. The review of the learned Justice Mr. Abdur Rahim gives life to the report.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th January, says:-

The Public Services Commission. The Public Services Commission tried to make the Indian Civil Service the property of the English. . . . . .Many pass the B.L. Degree Examination every year. It would have been proper if the high posts to be given to Indians in Judicial Service in India had been fixed at eighty instead of forty. The Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim has justly expressed the desirability of Civil Servants who have a liking for the Judicial Department, serving in that Department only, instead of partly in one and partly in another Department. The facts that the Provincial Service has been left to remain as a Separate Department, and that even through it, not even a third of the high posts has not been assigned to the Indians, betray the shortsightedness of the Commission. In this connection, the decision of Mr. Chaubal deserves to be noted.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 30th January, refers to

Public Services Commission. the comments of the London Times on the report of the Public Services Commission and writes:- The report has given great satisfaction to the lovers of bureaucracy and not to the Indians. It has given the Indians heart-burning, discontent, despair and sorrow. The hopes of the Indians have been blighted and it is not proper to have spent lakhs of rupees for this useless report.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 27th January, says:-

Public Services Commission. We entertained great hopes about the Public Services Commission, but we have been wholly disappointed. When Mr. Gokhale died, we feared that the enquiry of the Commission would not be productive of the desired results. The people clamour for swaraj. Their hearts cannot but break if they should suddenly hear that this hope has been blighted. The rulers knew this and so it seems they laid bare their heart through the report of the Commission, warning them against hoping for too much. That the rulers who wanted the people to avoid discussion of all controversial matters during the war, published this report which provokes discussion, cannot be explained otherwise. Regarding the Civil Service, the Commission recommended that under certain conditions a small examination should be held in India and nine Indians should be admitted into that branch of Government service. This is a very small concession. When the recommendations are carried out, some more Indians will be in Government service, but this will not satisfy the people entirely. The authorities are already accused of paying exceedingly large salaries to their officers. It is unsatisfactory that the Commission has recommended an increase of 50 lakhs in this item of expenditure.

By publishing this report the rulers have made known their "liberal" spirit. The money spent on this Commission has been wasted. Enquiry Commissions are worse forces than Legislative Councils. The confidence of the public in these great Commissions has been shaken. It is decided that our representations will all turn out to be so many cries in the wilderness.

63. In its leader under this heading, the Desamata, of the 24th January, writes:- . . . .

The Fiji Islands and Indian coolies.

While the people were all contented thus a strange news comes to be heard. It is said that the Government of India have passed orders for the sending of Indian coolies for five years more, and that among those sent there will be one female for every three males. As soon asthis news was heard, the hopes of the Indians were shattered to the ground, and a thrill goes through their hearts. There are two or three points to be considered in this connection. Where is the justice of one Viceroy breaking the promise made by another? If this goes on can the ruled have faith in the rulers? It is by faith that Governments go? By the strength of faith does the wheel of administration move smooth. . . . . .If, instead of that, promises are every moment, subjected to change, people feel it very hard. Let alone this loss of faith; we are confronted with a more dreadful problem. . . . . Many courting one female, not to speak of the immoral effects thereof, engenders jealousy, hatred and enmity among the coolies. They lead to murder and suicide. This accounts for the high rate of suicide among the Indian coolie population in the Fiji Islands which is over 900 in ten lakhs, while it is only fourteen among the white population of the island, and about 45 among the people in our Madras Presidency. . . . . The causes that lead to this are, jealousy, disappointment and terrible diseases that spring out of adultery.

. . . . .It is the duty of a Government to see to the growth of moral sense among its subjects. Where is the justice of sending one female to every three males among the coolies? This increases immorality instead of preserving morality. Have the Government thought that morality will rise hereby? Are there no old accounts that indicate a rise in mortality? Is there no previous experience? What can be said when Christian Rulers that have been the champions for the establishment of morality in all the countries, behave thus? If the fence, meant to protect the field, grazes the field where is a refuge? Should the chastity of the European lady be preserved pure, and the character of the Indian female stained thus? It is surely a great stain on the English race, who pride themselves on their devotion to eradicate slave trade in Europe and other civilised countries, that they should now send Indian coolies for very abject service. It is regrettable that there is not today a single soul in England like Wilberforce or Bradlaugh. . . . . .To revive this most abonimable system of labourin these days, reduce coolies to the state of animals, and insult the Indian race is very harrowing and regrettable, and we request that members of the Imperial Legislative Council and Local Legislative Councils, editors of papers and public leaders will strive hard to see that the Government cancels this order issued by them.

64. In an article under this heading, the Kistnapatrika,

The Fiji Islands: a great sin.

of the 27th January, writes:- The local administration is in the hands of the people of the place

by which is chiefly meant the Europeans, who believe that the white men are Gods descended from heaven and look upon the blacks as great sinners fit to be condemned to perpetual hell. . . . . .Indentured labour is only another name for slavery. This disgraceful, inhuman and horrible practice is heartrending to us, and ignominious to the British Rule. Let along the other hardships and privations to which these coolies are subjected. One thoughtless regulation that is adopted by that Government is most provoking. It is that one woman may have many husbands. . . . .
It appears that this system is to continue for five years more. . . . . .What justice is it that whatevery may be the fate of the blacks, the interests of these celestial Europeans should not at all suffer. Oh! Emperor George, is it just that Your Majesty should look on with unconcern, when in your Empire one race openly oppresses another? Are the avaricious and wicked people of the Fiji Islands to preach polyandry to the women of India, the country of crest jewels of chastity such as Sita, Savitri, Damayanti and Arundati? Is this not, because our rulers do not, out of race bias, venture to put down these enormities? We have been dreaming of swaraj. And these very people of the colonies who have been according us so much love are seeking to sit upon our heads and lord it over us, by the reforms to be introduced in the Imperial administration after the war. . . . . .By this evil practice, adultery and consequently murders are on the increase among the Indian emigrants of these islands. The people in the colonies will begin to remark that the people of India are all of this type, and that they are unfit for freedom

and equal treatment with the white men. This ill-fame will proclaim to the whole world that the Indians are murderers and the offspring of prostitution.

73. The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th January, says:-

Danger in India.

In his second letter under the heading "Danger in India," Lord Sydenham stated that harm would result if the political wishes of the 19 Indian representatives contained in their Memorandum should be granted. He said that representative government was now unsuited to India which was destined to be ruled by foreigners, that in the east sympathy was more useful than intelligence, that authority would pass from the British hands if political boons were granted; that the English who are the protectors of the Indians should not recognise the desires of the Indians, and that pure and firm paternal rule would tend to the welfare of the country. The above ideas betray the narrow-minded attitude of Lord Sydenham towards political reforms. He thinks that the British should have full authority in their hands and should dole it out in small quantities as it suits them. The advocates of bureaucracy say constantly that political reforms do not tend to the welfare of the people. They will do well to know the opinion of the people as to whether Lord Sydenham may be entrusted with the welfare of the people or Mr. Gokhale. It is satisfying that the New Statesman looks upon this matter with a pure eye. It says:- The Indian problem has to be solved before or after the war. We have to promise the Indians suitable freedom so that they may place confidence in the administration. We must be prepared to secure it or we cannot escape from adverse results?. . . . . Those who have tasted the pleasures of authority long for them.

77. In its column of contemporary opinion, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st January, reports Mrs. Annie Besant to have published the following in New India on this subject:- Mr. Andrews says truly, "If we allow the system to continue any longer both we and the Government of India will sin against morality." . . . . A rumour is current that this wretched system is to continue for five more years . . . . Mr. Andrews writes in the Pioneer, that it has been openly proclaimed in the Fiji Islands, that an assurance has been received to this effect . . . . .The conditions that prevailed in South Africa differ from those in the Fiji Islands . . . . .To these islands, tender-hearted villagers are taken, under the influence of bribe or deceit for serving as slaves for five years in a foreign country. They are sent out close packed in crowded steamers at the rate of one female for every three males. They have to live in miserable barracks which are very uncomfortable and dirty. They relax into immoral and improper sexual relations. There is another form of polygamy more honourable than this. The kind-hearted landlords distribute a certain number of males to every female. . . . . .These females are the self-same Indian females who have been well known for their chastity from time immemorial, to whom devotion to one husband is the highest duty, and who have Sita and Savitri as their ideals from their childhood. . . . . .Leaving their home, and in the midst of foreigners, men are becoming fallen wretches with nothing to divert them except gambling and adultery.

Indentured labour.

Females become mere breeding soils. . . . .
An overseer that forcibly outraged a widow who could not be bribed to forego her chastity, was mangled to pieces by nineteen persons who triumphantly admitted their act. . . . . A young woman duly married was abducted by a man who married her according to the law for civil marriages, which was honoured while the Hindu marriage was not. Her two brothers shot her and cheerfully proceeded to the gallows expressing their satisfaction for having preserved the traditions of their family. . . . . . .

Indentured labour.

In its leader on the subject, the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st January, says:- The thirst for wealth that has grown strong in the western countries has led to many atrocities. The tortures that the labourers suffered in the rubber plantations in Congo have annoyed the States in Europe. . . . .
"What is the use of gaining the whole world and losing one's self? asked Jesus Christ, and Count Tolstois proclaimed that commercialism had been destroying the soul of the west. The Great havoc that prevails in the shape of the present war has, for its root cause, this soul starvation. The devotion that the Germans have shown in self-assertion is not to be found in the matter of preserving their souls. . . . . .The inhuman acts going on in places like the Fiji Islands have inflamed the wrath of the people, and Mr. Andrews was deputed to enquire into the condition of the coolies in the Fiji Islands. . . . . .Lord Hardinge recognised that the system of indentured labour is opposed

to the well-being of the coolies and to the self-respect of the Indians and that it should be eradicated. But it has been decided to allow the system to continue in places like the Fiji Islands for some time to come, in the interests of the landlords. . . . . The opinion of the Bishop of Madras must be noted by the western advocates of justice. The condition of the coolie population in the Fiji Islands causes boundless grief.

Mr. Andrews went to the Fiji Islands and personally enquired into the condition of the coolies there. Coolies go to those Islands believing the misrepresentations of the agents. . . . . .The monthly wages they get there is also Rs.15/- and there will be one female for every three males. . . . . .The unmarried females and males live in the plantations of the landlords, like cattle in pounds, lost to love, sympathy, justice and morality, and there is no limit to the malpractices, crimes, adultery and murders going on there. Those that go there know nothing of this deplorable state of things before they actually go . . . . .Under this system, women that live pure lives in villages are fallen and lost, and India, well known as the land of pativratas like Sita, Savitri, Sakuntala and Anasuya, is gaining a name for impurity. Women with a sacred character accustomed to sati cast off their modesty, and are habituated to immoral lives.

The helpless females are not to blame in this matter. The rulers and the subjects that have kept the women in this helpless condition are to be ashamed for it. . . . . .We must forthwith request, nay

compel, our rulers to stop this system. . . . .
May the rulers put down this system which is opposed to the well-being, honour, strength and character of the Indians; and win their gratitude and the blessing of God.

91. The Quami Report, of the 27th January, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:- We have written that in making appointments the Government has had no regard for the aspirations of Mussalmans. In a single week they have been twice disappointed, as the Government has ignored both principle and claim, and hasgiven no occasion for one to think that it is in sympathy with the independent historical status and worth of Mussalmans. The admission of Lord Minto and the promise of Lord Morley constitute today an elegy for disappointed hopes. It is difficult, however, for this complaint to reach the ears of the Government. Had such treatment been extended to the Hindus, the wail of their press would have shaken the foundations of the Government House and the smoke of their protest meetings would have spread over the ceiling of the Council Chamber.

The disappointment of Mussalmans.

The poor Mussalmans have no paper. They have no leaders who know how to intimidate and to raise a revolt. God's servants are representing their grievances to Him alone. Had the Government understood the language of Mussalmans, and, if the Mussalmans had anything to do with the orders of the former, it could have known that the recent appointments have grieved Mussalmans to the heart, and that they are observing that their hopes, which they entertained from the Government, are dashed to the ground and mingled with the sanguinary soil of

inappreciation and oblivion.

It is true that the shortsightedness of certain Mussalmans has something to do with it, but the duty of the Government was to have appreciated public opinion, and to have judged the feelings of those innocent men through the great department which traces the acts of criminals.

But feigned ignorance and pretended indifference cannot conceal facts. Whether the Government understands it or ~~to~~ no, whether its authorities investigate the matter or no, whether its omniscient department informs it or no, it is a fact and an obvious fact that Mussalmans are suffering heartfelt grief and regret because of the defeat of their hopes.

Both these opportunities have, however, slipped through their fingers, but there is yet another chance in the Revenue Board. Can we revive our hopes and invite the attention of the Government to the fact that the Mussalmans can be satisfied with such an appointment and that this might be a plaster for their wounded feelings?

The appointment requires no extraordinary consideration. There is Khan Bhadur Aziz-ud-din Hussain Khan Sahib, the Collector of South Arcot. His ability is well known. He is a Madrasi. In every grade he has rendered signal service to the Government of Madras. He is popular amongst the Hindus, and the Mussalmans regard him with special honour and respect.) ~~No better~~

appointment can be made and all the Mussalmans of Southern India will approve it.

We have mentioned this name with a view that the Government may not be deceived by any complicated and concise ideas. Mussalmans demand their rights and request the Government to act on its principle. Mussalmans in general wish to see occupying this post a man like the Khan Bahadur. We hope the Government will kindly not throw cold water on this hope. The Mussalmans in this connection desire the appointment to be made on national principles, and it is the duty of Government to see that their last hope is not made a prey to neglect.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 10TH FEBRUARY 1917.

No. 6 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Public Services Commission.

4. In reviewing the Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, the South Indian Mail, for the week ending 29th January, says:--"The Indian press, as a whole, have loudly protested against the justice of the main conclusions of the Public Services Commission. They have declared that the view of the majority of the Commissioners is narrow and thoroughly unsuited to the present condition of India. It has also been pointed out that the time chosen for the publication of the Commission's recommendations was very inopportune, considering the hopes raised in the Indian mind not only by the recent utterances of some of the English statesmen but also by the unstinted praise which India's splendid service in the present war has been receiving. Instead of bringing about retrenchment which is so much needed in Indian finance, the Commission's recommendations, if carried out, would add to the burden of the tax-payer in this country a sum of Rs.50/- lakhs and this one fact is enough to prove the inexpediency of the arrangements suggested by the Commission."

In a leader under the heading "Blasted Hopes and Broken Ambition", the Indian patriot, of the 2nd February, remarks:- "India, on the whole, would not have been worse if the Report of the Public Services Commission had not been written, if the Commission had not been appointed. On the other hand, the report is not only disappointing, but exasperating, and India xannot but complain that so much public money has been wasted in order that the Commission might frame such a report. After thirty years, the Commission do not recommend a step forward. They merely recommend the perpetuation of the position assigned to Indians before. . . . . .The report of the Public Services Commission might have been as well thrown into the sea as published in India. Throughout India, it is already discredited as being of very little value, and whatever merit other people may find in it, Indians will find none. It is said to have to write thus of a report produced after such an elaborate and costly investigation, in the course of which much bad blood was created, and to state that it has done nothing to assuage the feeling or diminish the discontent."

The Hindu, of the 9th February, writes:--"We desire to draw prominent attention to the peculiar method suggested by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech on Monday last at the Imperial Legislative Council, for the consideration of the Report of the Public Services Commission. . . . . .The procedure proposed to be followed in the consideration of the matter appears to us to be open to grave objections.

In the first place, the holding of conferences of representatives of Local Governments to discuss questions connected with public services depends for its value, upon who these representatives are going to be. The representatives to be nominated by Local Governments will, we take it, be mostly Members of the Indian Civil Service. If this is so, it would be idle to expect these officers to bring to bear on the discussion of service questions any considerations which would even remotely affect their interests. The Commission have made recommendations which are largely in favour of the important higher services manned mostly by Europeanns, and increases in emoluments have ~~made~~ been suggested which are staggering in their nature, extremely repugnant to Indian feeling and highly prejudicial to the Indian taxpayer. Can it be expected that these representatives will consent to the passing of a self-denying ordinance and recommend larger employment of Indians and reduction of pay to European Officers--two reforms which are absolutely necessary today and on the securing of which non-official representatives in the Councils should concentrate their attention?. . . . . .There may be expedition in the prodedure, but it will be at the expense of fair consideration of the questions. Such a plan will result in much detriment to the Indian claims, besides making it impossible for even the Indian view to be placed on record which will be the case if the Local Governments, many of which have an Indian in the Executive Councils, are asked to submit their views. There seems also to be another equally serious flaw in His Excellency's proposal. Some urgent grievances and

other essentially minor matters, it would appear, will be taken up at once, reserving the more important problems to be tackled later on. This is a highly retrograde suggestion. Already officers in the Civil, Police and certain other services have obtained special treatment in anticipation of the recommendations of the Commission--a selfish and unedifying measure which has created sore feeling in the public mind. The country is at present greatly agitated over the illiberal recommendations of the Commission, and statesmenship and political prudence require that the Government should lose no time in making a definite pronouncement allaying the discontent and irritation that have resulted from the publication of the report. Instead of adopting this plan, the Government have announced a mode of procedure which cannot at all, we fear, tend to infuse confidence in the public. We trust that more precise information on this matter will be elicited at the meetings of the Imperial Council during the current Session, and that the Government of India will be warned of the wrong track they are pursuing."

~~81~~/ 7. Indentured labour. (3rd para)

The Karnataka, of the 3rd February, remarks:- "Mr. C.F. Andrews, who has made an imperishable name for himself by his loving services to India, has unfolded a truly heart-rending tale of Colonial barbarism in his lecture reproduced elsewhere. He allows facts to speak for themselves, and they are enough to put every self-respecting white man to shame. . . . .

The question is, indeed, not one of States or nations. It touches our common humanity; and it is needful that our (the Mysore) Government apart from what others might do--should interest themselves in the matter and address the Government of India on the injustice and inhumanity of continuing the indenture system for any length of time and for any consideration whatever."

The Hindu, of the 8th February, observes:- "His Excellency the Viceroy delivered a long and important speech yesterday in opening the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council. . . . . .The Viceroy dwelt at some length upon the question of indentured labour which is one of the burning questions of the day. He referred to the fact that the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave notice towards the end of the last Session of the Council for leave to introduce a Bill to abolish the system of indentured labour. We fear we cannot agree with His Excellency in saying that the Hon'ble Pandit betrayed impatience in the action which he took. The whole country is deeply stirred over the matter, and it will read with deep disappointment the dilatory manner in which the question is being handled by the Government. . . . .
The Indenture system being an immoral and unjust one and its undoubted evils being as they are admitted by Lord Chelmsford to be, it ought to be abolished without an instant's delay. The people of this country owe no obligation to the Colonies in this matter. They must protest against any arrangement entered into in respect of prolonging it between the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. . . . .

This is a monstrous injustice to the people of India which Lord Chelmsford has tried to explain away by his plea for moderation and patience in his speech yesterday. The people of this country must agitate more strongly than ever to get the obnoxious Indenture system done away with at once."

Reforms after the war.

13. The Hindu, of the 5th February, observes:- "At the last meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council, the following question was asked:- "Will ~~the foll~~ the Government be pleased to say if it was asked by the Government of India to communicate to them its views on reforms to be introduced in India after the war and if tyey have been so communicated?' The Hon'ble Mr. Burn replied as follows:- 'The subject is one upon which it would be improper for this Government furnishing the information.' We fail to see any impropriety in Government furnishing the information. What was asked for was merely whether the Local Government was called for its opinion on the reforms to be introduced in India afte the war and if so, whether a reply had been sent. No desire was ever expressed to publish the nature or contents of such communications. In such circumstances, the reply of Mr. Burn must be deemed to be quite unsatisfactory, though it is in keeping with bureaucratic traditions."

A victim to the Ceylon Labour system.

17. The Hindu, of the 7th February, writes:- "A heartrending description of a victim to the labour

system in Ceylon is given in the Ceylonese of Sunday last with a moving picture of an unfortunate lad, named Muttayya who is as a matter of fact less than twenty years of age but looks very old and feeble with quite a multitude of horrible ailments. . . . . .We have no reason to believe that this is either a solitary or very uncommon instance of the lot of coolies that are taken away to Ceylon and other places by deceitful kanganis. The system which allows the sick men to be cast away as soon as their usefulness is at an end, especially when these poor unfortunate labourers are many miles away from their country, with none to care for them, cannot be condemned too strongly. The treatment that is usually meted out to Indian labourers in foreign lands is in certain respects more scandalous and revolting than actual slavery. The actual state of affairs should only be made known, to get from every impartial human being a verdict that such inhuman systems should be put an end to immediately. We demand that except under most satisfactory conditions and proper safeguards against unscrupulous exploitation, no emigration of labourers should be allowed from this country."

18. The Hindu, of the 7th February, writes:- "We do not know whether the Madras Government

The subsidising of newspapers by Government.

have realised the effect on the public mind of their answers to the following interpellations by the Hon'ble Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao:-

".Q.193--(a) Will the Government be pleased to state what newspapers, if any, are (1) subsidised or (2) purchased by the Government, and, if so, at what cost?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if any other newspapers are proposed to be (1) subsidised or (2) purchased by the Government, next year and, if so, at what cost?

"A.193-- The Government are not prepared to furnish the information.

"The Madras Government's refusal to furnish the information called for leads to the obvious inference that a newspaper or newspapers have been or are proposed to be subsidised. If this is a fact, it ought to be stated definitely and the reasons justifying the same ought tobe given. The purity of public life and the interests of good Government require that the Government should not hire the services of any organ of so called public opinion without the knowledge of the public, except of course in the matter of advertisement. There is a report current in some circles in Indian Society that high European officials are supporting or are inclined to support sectarian newspapers whose chief occupation is in fomenting feuds between different classes of the Indian community. The report may be and is probably entirely unfounded. We need hardly say however that the answer to the Hon'ble Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao's interpellations is not calculated to dispel such rumours."

The following appears in New India, of the 7th Fenruary:-

"Inconvenient questions.

"At the Legislative Council yesterday, the following question was put and 'answered',; the questioner was the Hon'ble Mr. A.S. Krishna Rao:-

Q.-- " (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what newspapers, if any, are (1) subsidised or (2) purchased by the Government and, if so, at what cost?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if any other newspapers are proposed to be (1) subsidised or (2) purchased by the Government, next year, and, if so, at what cost?

A.-- The Government are not prepared to furnish the information.

"The answer shows that some papers are subsidised or bought, since it is obvious that, if it were not so, a prompt denial would have been given. A lurid light is thrown on the manufacture of 'public opinion' by organs that sell themselves while pretending to be independent. When the Bengal Government subsidised the Indian Mirror, it did so openly, and the paper lost its position. Here, apparently, we are having foisted upon us as public opinion,opinions paid for by Government, the very fount of information being poisoned and public life corrupted."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

46. In its columns headed "Comic notes" the Vijayavikatan of the 17th January, writes:- On being

How to put down sedition.?

asked by Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, as to how sedition could be put down in India, Vikatan replied: "Sedition will be broken up and will vanish, if tall sepoys, armed with guns and pistols and drawn swords, are stationed in large numbers at the entrances of the houses from which the people come out." On hearing this reply, the Minister patted Vikatan on his back, cried out "good" several times, and presented him with the title of "Right Honourable" which he took out from his pocket.

51. A correspondent to the Hindu Nesan, of the 24th January, writes:-

After the war.

In the keen competition that will arise between the countries of Europe, America and Japan, after the war, what will India do? How will this country lift up its head? Has it obtained sufficient powers to be exercised in matters relating to Finance and Legislation? How long should it look up to others like this? This is why we ask for swaraj. We need financial support from the Government for our industries, commerce and agriculture. Higher duties should be levied on cotton manufactures and other commodities imported into this country, and the duties imposed on the exports of our products should be reduced. The swadesi feeling should be spread, and the Government also should largely purchase the products of this country for use in its offices, etc., All this will only make the people more loyal to the Government. If the sheep grow fat, it is profitable to the shepherd: so also the prosperity of the country will be beneficial to both the rulers and the ruled.

52. In a leading article under this heading, the Hindu Nesan, of the 19th January, says:-

A friend of India.

In these days when there are those among Englishmen whose pious endeavours lie in opposing benefits being derived by India, it is a most desirable thing that a noble person like Lord Morley should occupy the seat of the Secretary of State for India. But we cannot dream of such a person taking that office now. It is talked about, however, that Lord Hardinge may yet be invited to occupy that post. This is not possible in the present crisis, but may take place after the war. We are glad to note in this connection that there is one in the present Cabinet who will stand by India and support her demands. It is Dr. Fisher, who is the British Minister for Education. He served as a member of the Public Services Commission and is a good friend of India. He is reported to have said in a speech recently delivered by him that endeavours should be made to create in the minds of the people of Great Britain such a regard for the Indians as would make them stretch out their hands and accord a cordial welcome to the Indians without colour prejudice. Nor was it all. He added that there were any number of great men in India and that he was not worthy even to tie the boot-lace to some of them.

53. In an article on this subject, the Hindu Nesan, of the 20th January, writes:--On a previous occasion, Sir William Meyer, the Financial Member of the Government of India, and the Secretary of State for India have stated that they were fully aware that, in addition to the difficulty of raising this loan in

War loan In India.

India, the condition of the Indian currency and revenue will be injured by it. It was because they were aware that it would not be conducive to the welfare of India, this has not been done for the last three years since the outbreak of the war. The reason why this is now proposed is that the Anglo Indian Papers repeatedly urged this being done. Besides, the Tory papers in England caught the cue from these and kept up the key of their note until the Government gave way. Is it either necessary or desirable to raise a war loan here? This may be said to be unnecessary, considering that large sums have been paid in India as gifts, for the war, and it is undesirable considering the poverty of the country and the impossibility of a loan being raised for itself, if a war loan is raised now. But there are other points of view from which the question ought to be looked at. Considering the loyalty of the Indians, their love for the King, their patriotism and their regard for the Empire, it cannot be supposed that they will withhold from making liberal contributions to the war loan.

Mr. Polak on India and the Colonies.

54. The Hindu Nesan, of the 22nd January, has a leader on this subject in which it observes:-

At the present juncture when Mr. Curtis is sojourning in India, seeking the best means by which the Colonies may be made to share with the British Government the control of India, we cannot afford to remain idle, as Mr. Polak points out in his speech in the Gokhale Society at Allahabad recently. Mr. Polak should not be content with making such speeches in India. He should go to England

and make the public there understand the injustice of bringing India under the joint control of the Colonies. We translate below the concluding portion of his speech at Allahabad:- "I am also a loyal man like any other British subject. But the day on which I see the Colonies obtaining a share in the control of India, the tree of loyalty that has grown in my heart will so shake and totter at its root as to make me fear that it may fall down. If the Colonies which are unable to rectify their own affairs and which do not understand how they should treat the Indians who go to them as British subjects, should be allowed to participate in the control of India, no greater evil than that can befall the British Empire. If, as the members of the Round Table say, the Empire will be broken to pieces in case the Colonies are not given a share in the control of India, it is better and more honourable that it should be broken up by that cause than by the excessive hatred of the Indians against the Colonies, a feeling which has not been dreamt of by any as being likely to be aroused, by they the members of the Round Table, the authorities of the Empire, the Governors of India, or the Colonial statesmen. I think it will be a difficult task to make the Colonies yield an inch in their desire to obtain a share in the Control of India. But I think that it will also be an equally difficult thing for the Imperial authorities and the British public to be induced to yield ~~for the Imperial authorities and the British public to be induced~~ to this wish of the Colonies. Nor am I so devoid of

faith in the people of this country as to think that they will ever give room for such a disastrous occurrence. But if, in spite of all precautions, India should ever be subjected to the join control of the Colonies, I think that that day will toll the knell of the British Imperial rule in India."

Report of the Public Services commission.

55B Referring to this report, the Hindu Nesan, of the 26th January, writes:- The hopes of that section of the public which looked forward to beneficial recommendations being made by this Commission have ended in great disappointment. But we have to admit that the Gove nment have been preparing us for it; for though the report was ready for publication long ago, it was not published as it was deemed advisable not to do so during the war and thereby cause discontent to the people. The people however guessed the reason for this delay and the Government has apparently published this report at last, seeing that the war was not likely to ene soon, and that it could not be kept back for any length of time. The recommendations of the Commission are retrograde and not progressive. That these recommendations will not meet with the approbation of the Indian public is apparent from the fact that Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has refused to sign the report, but has written a minute of dissent, making separate recommendations of his own.

The Report of the Public Services Commission.

The Quami Report, of the 28th January, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:--It will be remembered that a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into and report on Indian affairs.

This Commission submitted its report in August 1915, which was published officially the day before yesterday.

It will also be remembered that three Indian members, giz., the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim were appointed members of this Commission. Mr. Ghokale has since died and Mr. Chaubal, agreeding with the European members, has signed the Report, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim alone has disagreed and written a lengthy note of dissent, which in itself is complete and consistent, covering 95 pages.

Thus there are two different decisions of the Commission--one is adorned with the signatures of the majority of five members and the other is a living monument bearing the sign manual of the minority. This Commission was appointed to ascertain what Government appointments should be given to Indians in India, and what should be the number and capacity of Indians as compared with those of European officers.

The result that has been arrived at by the majority is brought out into bold relief by the vigorous and powerful pen of the learned Justice Abdur Rahim.

The Government has paid no regard to our special position and merit in these investigations, but has included us in the comprehensive and complicated Indian circle. It is not necessary at this stage for us to place before Government our other national claims. The joint position given to us by the Government had already destroyed many of our national characteristics. Our opinion, therefore, more or less, regarding the report,

can only be that which is expressed by India. The report has deepened the depth of despondency in the minds of enlightened and cultured men.

For instance, the Bengalee, in its issue of the 26th instant, writes: "The majority of the members of the Commission consisted of foreigners and so it viewed the important question of the Indian Public Service from a foreign standpoint, devoid of the sympathy with the people of this country. The note of dissent by Justice Abdur Rahim is well founded."

The Amrita Bazaar Patrika writes: "We are glad that Mr. William(sic) has raised his voice against the insignificant boons recommended by the Commissioners.

The Leader of Allahabad writes: "The recommendations of the majority are unreal and unimportant."

The Indian daily Telegraph: of Lucknow thinks that it is a rather disappointing document.

The Punjab of Lahore writes: "Justice Abdur Rahim has expressed the real opinion of India."

It adds that Justice Abdur Rahim's note of dissent is praised throughout the country, and thinks that any attempt to congratulate him on it would amount to flattery.

"For,God suffereth not the reward of those who do well to perish"--(Koran IX, 121/Tr.)

In its leader headed "A disappointment", the Desamata, of the 31st January, reviewing the report observes:- Our country which is plunged in famines and suffering extreme poverty only spends enormous money on such Commission but no good results . . . . .This report causes dire disappointment and extreme grief to the Indians who have placed much hope on the work of this Commission. How can we hope for any good resulting from this, the members of which are persons like Sir Valentine Chirol who has been conspiring to place our India under the rule of the Colonies, and Lord Ronaldshay whom the Bengali press proclaims as one who has no sympathy for the people of this country or their ideals?. . . . . .If our Government should accept the recommendations of this Commiss on, retrogression, and not progress will be result. . . . . Another result is the addition of fifty lakhs to the existing expenditure of administration, which is already the heaviest in the whole world. . . . . .Is it for this that so much money has been spent on the Commission? Or is it to teach the people that they should no more worry the Government, with requests for such Commissions, wherefrom while no good results, evil may flow. . . . . The boons granted by Queen Victoria, that ought to bind her descendants for generations, are treated as straw; how then can we trust that privileges would be given after the war? We cannot understand what faith can be reposed in the promises and assurances of the rulers. . . . . Though some of the recommendations of this Commission offer us some slight consolation they are surely disappointing on the whole.

Public Service Commission report, a disappointment.

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 31st January, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:-

The Report of the Royal Services Commission.

The report has been published after a long delay. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Andur Rahim has recorded a note of dissent covering ninety-five pages with which, he asserts, the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was in accord.

Dissent is but natural and there is no doubt that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has given proof of his breadth of knowledge and lofty views in reducing his reasons to writing. But the question is how far can the Government satisfy general demands. No one can deny that the present joint report does contain many recommendations calculated to very greatly benefit. India regards certain appointments it is considered to be essential that they should be given to Indians. It is recommended that the doors of certain departments should be opened wider and the rules for admission thereto amended, that certain appointments formerly reserved for Europeans should be open to Indians also.

Thus the suggestions put forward in the report were not even dreamt of twenty-five years ago. India never, by the greatest stretch of her imagination, realised that sympathy with, ~~the an~~ and the recognition of, the claims of Indians could ever appeal to the judgment of the British Government. The time is not far distant when the door will be opened for the gradual granting of rights.

Most papers published in English by Indians express their disapproval of this report, and write that all the hopes of Indians have been disappointed. Hence they suggest the advisability of postponing action thereon in view of the fact that the European members of the Commission have not given due consideration to Indian affairs.'

The editor thinks that such ideas, instead of benefiting the country, will injure it. If we sincerely desire the welfare of India and if we possess the sympathy born of true patriotism we should accept gradual progress. That progress, which is gradual, is firm and enduring, and those men alone succeed who advance step by step. On the other hand, more haste and less speed. It is for this reason we desire to accept the present report and to make it a basis for further advancement and thus save ourselves from the disappointment of not reaching the goal of our own ambitions.

56. In its leading article under this heading, the Vijayavikatan, of the 17th January, reports the following conversation which is said to have taken place, partly in verse, between two fictitious characters named Singan and Singi, and offers its remarks thereon, as shown below:-

Mr. Tilak's victory and the folly of the Madras Mail.

Singan:- Why is the world in a state of commotion?

Singi: The people are famished for want of food and their number is exceedingly large.

Singan: Why are the laws and regulations neglected and the people suffer by being caught under them?

Singi: The exalted rulers, who have conquered the world, are using all their strength in kindness.

Singan:- Why do all good men become bad and suffer much by being invoied in troubles?

Singi: If justice is pointed out b any one, the executive authorities being him formally under the law.

Singan: Why is there a perpetual noice here and vireut entirely forsaken.

Singi:- The ways of a king who regards the lives of his subjects as his own have died out, and this has given room for conflicts.

Vijayavikahan's remarks:- The whole world is now in a state of commotion. Justice has fallen into a lifeless state; and the ways of the authorities, are as in the days of the Muhammadan misrule. In such a time as this, I saw Singan and Singi singing the above songs. I accosted them and asked them who they were. They replied that they were inhabitants of India which resembles a pillar eater up by white ants. On being questioned further, they said that certain things written in the Madras Mail were causing much disgust to them, and that in spite of the law controlling the conduct of the newspapers, the Madras Mail was writing all sorts of things. Then they described how the Times of India and other Anglo-Indian papers caused Mr. Tilak to be suspected and punished by the Government when the Swadesi movement was started, how the authorities took a security of Rs.40,000 from him for having delivered a faulty speech, and how he appealed to the High Court of Bombay against this action of the authorities and got the amount of security refunded to him. They further

said: This decision of the Bombay High Court has enraged the Anglo-Indian papers and the Madras Mail has written against Mr. Tilak in abusive language. It says, "It is not fitting that the executive authorities shoudl let go freely those who call themselves patriots, instead of crushing them." May not the gracious Government frame some law to punish this paper which abuses good people to its heart's content. We do not see the reason why the executive authorities venture to take notice of the poor Indian papers for writing anything and worry them, while they pay no attention to this paper which writes in such a way as to cause misunderstandings between the Government and the people.

58. The Andhrapatrika, of the 1st February, comments on the recent speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, in Madras and says:- What the people's representatives desire foremost is the control of income and expenditure. Unless that is secured, reforms will not come apace. The present European rulers impose taxes and spend the revenue just as they please. They get very large salaries and pensions and wield great authority. The Pandit said that they trie every means in their power to secure these carefully and his opinion is based on thirty years' experience. He asked if these officers could receive exchange compensation without grounds, if the control over expenditure were in the hands of the people. He also asked if it was right to prevent the advancement of the Indians by holding Civil Service Examination in England for ever, because the rulers feared that English boys couldnot hold their own in a competition with Indian boys. We cannot agree with Pandit Malavya in one respect.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya.

He doubts if we are now fit for Swaraj. He should have stated what, in his opinion, is the test of fitness for Swaraj. It is surprising that he is at one with the bureaucracy who say that before attempting to swim in water one should learn to swim in the air. It is curious that although he, as a member of the Industrial Commission, is travelling from country to country, he has not seen that the question of self-Government is greatly agitating the minds of the Indians.

62. The Andhrapatrika, of the 1st February, refers to the questions relating to Mr. Curtis put in the United Provinces Legislative Council, and remarks:- The speech of Sir James Meston contains answers to everything but to these questions. In his wretched letter, Mr. Curtis stated that the opinions therein expressed were shared by Sir James Meston also. Sir James Meston did not reply to it. He did not say anything about that letter having been printed in the Government Press. It is strange that the Lieutenant-governor failed to answer these two points, but gave some lame explanation. It is ridiculous on his part to try to appear like a friend of India and to give out that he helped Mr. Curtis for the sake of India's well-being. Nobody would believe that there is no conspiracy after the conspiracy has been divulged, even if Sir James Meston should say so.

Sir James Meston and Mr. Curtis.

66. The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd February, says:-

Administrative reforms.

It is said that the Government of India have proposed certain administrative reforms in a despatch they addressed to the Secretary of State and are awaiting his sanction. It seems that before Lord Chelmsford addressed this despatch, Lord Hardinge addressed a despatch to London in which he urged the necessity of certain radical reforms in the Indian administration. God knows whether the reforms suggested are favourable or not to the Indians. In His Excellency the Viceroy's Council, all the members excepting Sir C. Sankaran Nayar are lovers of bureaucracy, who have ruled the country for 30 years and have enjoyed the amenities of authority. The India Council also contains such gentlemen. It contains persons who have joined it, taking pension in India. These pensioners will not allow the recommendations of the Viceroy being carried out. It may be stated that the administration of India is not now in the hands of liberal men. The conjunction of planets is not auspicious. Lord Chelmsford is yet new. We do not know his nature well. The members of his Council are not liberal-hearted. Mr. Chamberlain is not like Mr. Morley. The Civil Service Bill he introduced proclaims his illiberal attitude towards the aspirations of the Indians. The people of this country have had many proofs of Mr. Chamberlain being influenced by the bureaucracy surrounding him. It is no exaggeration to say that in the Cabinet, Lord Curzon is all pwerful.

We need not say what love that great Lord has for us. Lord Chelmsford should publish at once for the discussion of the public, his as well as Lord Hardinge'xs reform proposals contained in the despatches sent to the Secretary of State. Tjey may be shaped in accordance with public opinionl We prey that Lord Chelmsford will first do this kindness.

68. The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd February, refers to the order prohibiting Mr. Wadia and Mrs. Besant from making certain speeches in Madras, and remarks:- We are at a loss to know why when enforcing the Defence of India Act against Mr. Wadia and Mrs. Besant, it was also enforced against newspapers. How can the newspapers publish any speech before it is actually made? It is curious to guess that our paper would publish yesterday the speech Mr. Wadia made at Amraoti? It is strange to find the Defence of India Act applied to all newspapers for this simple thing. The object of the rulers might have been gained if they had merely passed the order prohibiting Mr. Wadia from making his speech. It will be well to put the Defence of India Act into force with a calm mind, but it is not proper to use that terrible weapon in small matters against persons who do not come under its provisions.

Madras and the Defence of India Act.

70. The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th February, says:-- It was resolved in a meeting at Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar's house to issue a leaflet to the public, containing the following:--O, Villagers! The recruiters of coolies go to you in villages, fill

Indentured labour.

you with hopes, deceive you and send you to Trinidad and other countries. We hereby warn you against falling into their snare. They tell you that you may earn As.12 a day. But this is false. Wages are paid at that rate only for 5½ days in the week. Rice sells at 2½ seers per rupee. You will be compelled to wear neat dress and boots, which are very costly. After arriving there the coolies will find even in the matter of food, that they are worse there than here. Those who go to the Fiji Islands find their poverty and misery unbearable and sometimes commit suicide. The number of women ther e is very small, and so the men there grow jealous, engage in quarrels and stab one another to death. Murder of women is there an ordinary thing.

The coolies that go to the Fiji Islands, have to serve a master for five years whether they will or not. Sometimes, the sirdars that supervise the coolies forcibly outrage the honour of their women. They have to bear these troubles somehow for five years. There is no means of escape from them. . . . . The recruiters spil your women. The women now in the Fiji Islands were each devoted to one husband while living in India. But in the Fiji Islands, they have given up all shame and are living an immoral life. Their children are the offspring of illicit connection.

80. <u>Indians in Fiji</u>. (Second para)

Referring to the system of indentured labour, the Andhraprakasika, of the 3rd February, writes in a leaderette under this heading as follows:--We regret that we have to call the British colonies, hell to the (moral) life of our country. What shall we do?

All our representations, petitions, deputations, protest meetings, and the speeches of great men from platforms and in the Legislative Councils, have had no effect whatever. As we read of the brutal treatment of our people in the colonies, our hearts burn with remorse, shame, anger and rage. . . . . .The people seeing their helpless condition are discussing among themselves if the King-Emperor is not aware of their trouble and why the Government are indifferent to this matter. It is certainly not good that the people should be suffering like this. . . . . .We may say that the coolies in the colonies are being treated worse than brutes. In the Fiji Islands one woman is said to have three husbands! O Lord Chelmsford! Behold what fate has be fallen the descendants of such chaste women as Savitri, Sita, Damayanti, Arundhati, Chandramati, Gargi, Anasuya and others! O great soul! Show some mercy! Fight with the Secretary of State for India to carry out the promise of Lord Hardinge, remove this stain on the fair name of the Indian race and earn the everlasting gratitude and good will of the Indian people! Believe with all thy heart that the three hundred millions of Indian people will fight for this cause like heroes under your banner and maintain the reputation of Indian heroes!. . . . . .At present coolies from Madras are emigrating to the Fiji Islands in large numbers. It appears that after the number of the Madras coolies has increased, suicides and atrocities also have increased . . . . It is the duty of the British Government to give effect to their promise made to us through Lord Hardinge. Otherwise discontent will,

without fail, prevail among the people. It is not statesmahlike to nourish such discontent in these times. We beg to submit that Lord Chelmsford will do well to abolish this system with a determination.

89. The Keralodayam, of the 6th February, points out

Lord Sydenham.

that from the two articles of Lord Sydenham in the Nineteenth Century, it is clear that he has no sympathy with Indians and their aspirations and observes that it is a pity that he did not consider that he should have been true to the salt, he ate.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 17TH FEBRUARY 1917.

No. 7 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

10. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 7th February, writes:-

Indentured labour.

"From the proceedings of the meetings which are being held all over the country, the Government will see that the agitation against the indenture system in the Colonies has nothing of the spurious about it. It is not engineered by professional agitators as they are called but by responsible Indians who do not care to embarrass the Government in any matter. The agitation is as genuine as it is widespread and it must further strengthen the hands of the Indian Government who have on several occasions condemned the system in unequivocal terms and who in the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge have given an assurance that it would be put an end to altogether. . . . . .Reports that are brought from time to time by unbiassed eye-witnesses like Mr. C.F. Andrews show to what depths of moral degradation we are consigning our countrymen and women who earn a living in the Cohonies under the indenture system. It recalls the worse days of human

slavery and it is sheer mockery to speak of Imperial federation with a place for India in it while her sons and daughters are condemned to such shameful lives in the Colonies, where Indians have a right to the privileges which the British flag connotes. We trust the Government of India will take note of the significance and the widespread character of the agitation against the indenture system and keep their plighted word for its total abolition. . . . . .The remedy is two fold, one is the abolition of the system under which Indian labour is recruited for the Colonies and the other is for the communities concerned to discourage emigration as far as possible. It is notorious that agricultural labourers are on one hand allowed to be tempted away to distant parts of the Empire by the agents of labour commissions and on the other they are forced by low wages paid in their own country to leave however unwillingly to foreign countries to earn a living wage. So that it is necessary to disillusion them as to the prospects of becoming rich beyond the dreams of aarice in foreign lands and offer them wages which will be enough to keep them in their own country. . . . . .Much more liberal terms have got to be offered to the tenants to bind them to the soil which they have been cultivating for generations. What is known in America and in Europe as the profits sharing system may with necessary modifications be introduced in this country which will help in improving the lot of the agricultural labourer and bring about more cordial relations between the land-owner and the cultivating tenants. There is little use

in the landowners complaining of the paucity of agricultural labour and wailing at emigration when they do practically nothing to improve the prospects of the labourers. We trust the leaders of the anti-indenture agitation will not fail to take note of this aspect of the question and educate the landowners in their responsibilities in the matter.

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 10th February, says:- "We are glad to find that the less partial among Anglo-Indian journals have been forced to differ from the Viceroy in his statement on the indenture system. . . . . .That, we confess, is the most disappointing statement which any representative of the Government can make. . . . . .It is for us to consider, and not at all for any outsider, whoever he be, a planter or Colonial Government agent, whether the emigration of Indian labourers is to be permitted for exploitation. Indians cannot, as a self-respecting Nation, consent to surrender that birth-right.

"There are further proofs in the Viceroy's statement that he, or the Government of India, has not yet grasped the nature of the feeling in this country on the subject. He says that he is endeavouring, with the assistance of the Commerce Member, to amend the sex ratio prevailing among the emigrants. If the Viceroy had even an inkling of the general sentiment in this country, he would never have made such a statement. . . . . .In other words, it is proposed to send a further batch of our women to lead a wicked and criminal life there, without in any way putting down immorality. What does the exact ratio matter to us, so

long as our women are forced to lead a promiscuous life and so long as there can be no married life among them? What the Government of India will be doing if they succeed in their endeavour is to send some more women to a life of wickedness; and does any one who knows this country think that such a proposal will be accepted by any self-respecting Indian?

The Viceroy possesses, it is probably not well-known, the power to stop indenture at any moment by one stroke of his pen; and this is the time for the exercise of that power. The people of India will not permit any other policy, unless the emigrants are promised treatment which a British citizen deserves wherever the Union Jack flies. If, ignoring that demand, the Government should consent to some modified demand of the Colonies--even to treatment of the type meted out in Ceylon--they will only be courting a fresh agitation without any useful consequences for themselves. The popular demand here is that British citizenship ought to be a reality for Indians and not a mirage or bait, as it may possibly be under some form of emigration; and in the interests of every one concerned, it is necessary that the Government of India should recognize that resolve of the people."

11. United India and Native States, for the week ending 8th February, writes:--"The Public

The Public Services Commission.

Services Commission Report has at last been published and we should say that the Indian public has been profoundly disappointed with the results arrived at. .

. . . . .We are afraid that the publication of the report at this juncture has only tended to accentuate and intensify the growing bitterness of feeling and estrangement which have so long divided the bureaucracy and the educated classes. It is unfortunate that these dormant feelings should have been aroused at a time when the whole Empire is animated by a grim determination to crush the ruthless militarism of Germany which threatened to overwhelm and ruin the entire fabric of Western Civilisation. . . . . .It is not too much to say that the Royal Commission's findings have given satisfaction to nobody unless we make an exception on behalf of the Anglo-Indian reactionaries of the Civil Service and the Press who, it goes without saying, are delighted at the prospect of their vested interests not being assailed or disturbed. After this bitter experience, our administrators should not be surprised if the Indian people fight sgh shy of Committees and Commissions of Enquiry that may be appointed by Government to find solutions for any burning questions of the day."

The Indian Patriot, of the 9th February, writes:- "His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Imperial Legislative Council will be received with considerable, if not complete, satisfaction......................... We have grievances, some of them very old grievances; and we are gratified to be assured, though not in express terms, that the virtue of patience will have its reward. Nobody wants to hamper the Government in these anxious times when the one object, which must appeal to all classes of people, is the winning of the war. To that supreme end we must subordinate all other aim. We

recognise this duty equally with the rest of the Empire. But in the meantime, as His Excellency is aware, certain causes have been allowed to disturb the placid atmosphere of India. One thing, which above everything else, which India feels most keenly is the position of Indians in the Colonies. . . . . .Those we are aware of this acute feeling in the country ought not to have allowed it to be roused by the audacious proposal to place India under the Colonies and on the insulting ground that India is not fit for any kind of self-government such as the Colonies enjoy, and that it will be content with position of subordination which Mr. Curtis and his colleagues of the Round Table would assign to it.

The following appears in New India, of the 12th February:--

"Saturday's Public Meeting."

"Under the joint auspices of the three leading political bodies of this City--the Provincial Congress Committee, the Mahajana Sabha and the Home Rule League--a public meeting was held last Saturday to protest against the unjust recommendations of the Public Services Commission. . . . . .We sincerely trust that all over the country meetings will be held and protests made, emphatic and clear, telling Lord Chelmsford that India will not tolerate the cruelty, the injustice, and the tyranny of seeing his Government adopt these shameful recommendations."

17. The Hindu, of the 10th February, observes:--"Cases of imprisonment for labour offences, are

Labour offences in Ceylon.

still common in Ceylon and in spite of repeated representations to the Government exposing the cruel and inhuman nature of the provisions, from which even women and children are not exempted, they have not seen their way to abolish such practice altogether. . . . . Another highly scandalous feature of the system is the advertisement offering reward for the arrest of bolted coolies. It is hardly believable that such an atrocious practice as the arrest of labourers, males and females, without warrant by private individuals, is actually being tolerated under the British Government."

21. The West Coast Spectator, of the 13th February, remarks:- "Now that the Government of India,

Volunteering for Indians.

have decided to freely admit Indians to the Volunteer Forces which will in future be regarded as units of the defensive force of India, we hope that those patriotic and public spirited citizens of Calicut who volunteered their services at the commencement of the war will enlist forthwith, and thus demonstrate that their offer was no mere clap-trap and they can rise above rupees, annas and pies. We hope that the members of the local bar who sent paragraphs round the press about their offer will set the example.

Vernacular Papers.

I. Foreign Politics.

25. Under this head, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th January, writes:- We learn from the

Prohibition of Asiatics from America.

India, which has reached us from England, that the Bill to prohibit Asiatics from America has been passed. This Bill does not specify the nations among the Asiatics who are so prohibited. It will be passed into law as soon as it receives the sanction of the President. Can the Hindus and others then go there? The India asks why this resolution was not published in the London papers immediately after it was arrived at on the 12th December last and what was done by the office of the Secretary of State for India with reference to that resolution which is calculated to be detrimental to the interests of India. It appears that the Japanese Ambassador in America then objected to the Japanese being clubbed with the Indians and brought under this prohibition, and that subsequently letters were exchanged between America and Japan and an arrangement was effected by which the Japanese were not affected by the Bill. Did the British Ambassador in America seek to safeguard the interests of the Indians as the Japanese Ambassador did, or was he told by the British Government to do so? As it is not desirable that room should be given for the Indians to feel this additional grievance of their interests not being attended to in this matter, it is hoped that our authorities will find their way to cause the necessary arrangements being made for amending the Bill suitably before it receives the sanction of the President.

(k) General.

Indians and the United States.

39. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 9th February, publishes the following extract from a letter of a New York correspondent to the Amrita

Bazaar Patrika regarding a law proposed to be introduced to prevent emigration from India into the United States:- We do not know the reason why the British ambassador has been silent in this matter and behaved as it India had no objection to this law. Many men, especially the educated classes, in spite of their personal experience of India, are carried away by false impressions engendered by the indifference of the British Government and the unjust mischief of the Colonies.

Indentured labour.

41. ~~In~~ Referring to the paper read by Mr. Andrews in the Young Men's Indian Association buildings on the 23rd January 1917, the Hindu Nesan, of the 24th January, observes:- Considering that the Indians have been urging for a long time that this system of labour should be abolished, how heart-rending should it be for them to be told that it has been sanctioned by the Colonial Secretary to remain in force for another period of five years. The feeling is bound to be all the greater in the case of those who have actually witnessed how brutally the Indian coolies are being treated in the foreign countries, and how the Indian women there find themselves entangled in a position in which they cannot preserve their chastity. Mr. Andrews therefore stated how the sights he saw in the Fiji Islands and in South Africa were such as could not be forgotton or put up with, how they hurt his heart like fire, how the indignities heaped on our helpless women there should not be tolerated any longer, how the Indians would bring upon themselves the

odium of being devoid of feeling, if tyey remained idle now, and how the Government would be liable to blame, if it did not take immediate steps to put a stop to such a system of labour.

In its leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st January, writes:-

Indentured labour.

Is there any one whose heirs will not stand on end to know the particulars given by Mr. C.F. Andrews and the other speakers in yesterday's meeting in Madras regarding the evils of the Indentured labour? It is the opinion of all that, as long as this system, which is opposed to civilization, is not completely removed, the self-respect of the Indians cannot be maintained. Though it is now more than a year since Lord Hardinge gave us the assurance that this cruel system would be abolished, it still remains and seems likely to do so for another five or ten years. It is true that Lord Hardinge then stated that it would take some time to abolish the system which was so abnoxious to all. But can any one remain quiet when he is told that it would continue for five or ten years more? If it is hard even to think of the evils and indignities caused to the Indians by this system, how can such things be expressed in words? It must be heart-rending to every one to be told that the sufferings of the Indians in the Fiji islands are greater than those of the Indians in South Africa. In these islands our people have to live unrighteous lives like brutes. Women are sent down there in the ratio of one female to three males and the Government of India also has admitted the truth of this statement. When we

consider how our people there are forced to lead immoral lives and how the law itself gives room for it in a measure, what can we say? Our friends will note in this connection what Mr. Andrews has already said regarding the way in which the man who so forced a woman was cut to pieces by her two brothers, who also shot her dead to save her chastity and gave themselves up to be hanged, saying "We have done our duty to our family." We will quote here what Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu has stated on this subject in a public meeting held at Allahabad recently. She said "the fire of your wrath will burn ablaze when you hear those indignities related. May that fire consume the system of indentured labour. I shed tears to think of the loss of shame to which my sisters are subjected. I must regard that loss of shame as affecting myself. You are listening day and night to the accounts told you of our brothers howling like dogs in the Fiji islands and our women crying out in a worse condition than brutes. Are you patriots, who demand swaraj without being able to stop that cry and loss of shame? For whom is swaraj? What for is swaraj? Is swaraj for a people who do not see their way to stop the loss of shame to which their mothers are subjected? Is swaraj needed for a people who fold their hands and keep quiet when the women tremble, and whos see the loss of their shame to a degree that is unworthy of humanity, and yet do nothing? If patriotism consists in your being full of mercy, honour, and love instead of listening to lectures and going away, or growing enthusiastic now and fading into inaction afterwards, all of you, from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin,

should join together and prevent this loss of shame. This is your duty." The authorities and the public should take into consideration the statement of Mr. Andrews that they would be guilty of falling off from the path of virtue and the Government would, in addition, be exposing itself to blame, if they did not take immediate steps to put an end to this system of labour. Steps should be taken to abolish this system in the Conference which is to be held in London shortly regarding the subject of labour. If it is said that the planters will be subjected to losses by the system being suddenly put an end to, is solution to be found for it by saying that the Indians should live with loss of shame? It will be worthy of those who boast of a high state of civilization only if they abolish this system which roots out all civilization and mercifulness. Else all that boast will only be a vain boast.

The Imperial Conference.

42. The Swadesamitran, of the 27th January, concludes its long leader under this head as follows:--The representatives sent from India will only help the Secretary of State for India. They have not been given an equal position with the Colonial representatives to stand up and speak like them in this Conference. India has helped England in this war to a larger extent than the Colonies. So long as a difference is observed between India and the self-governing countries in this matter, it will be difficult for the Indians being contented and their objects being realised.

44. Reviewing this report, the Swadesamittan, of the 26th January, writes in its leader.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

There is cause for regret for those that warned the Government against the publication of this report now, that the Government has not acted upon their advice, for in these days when India and the Colonies stand shoulder to shoulder on equal terms and are making sacrifices for the great war that is being waged to save the freedom of the people, this report recognises racial differences. It is therefore significant that Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor-designate of Bengal, stated at a meeting held in London recently to honour him on his appointment, that his views had undergone change. When we consider the nature of the individual remarks made in the report by Mr. Sly, the prominent Civilian Member of the Commission, who is in very intimate terms with Mr. Curtis and the association known as the Round Table, we are constrained to say that, so long as such civilians carry on the administration of this country, there is no use at all in looking up to the authorities for help in securing our aims and aspirations. We wish to call the attention of the public to the fact that the views expressed in this report are opposed to the definite statements made in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Government of India Act of 1916. The highly objectionable views and ways of the Commission could not meet with the approval of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who has recorded his views separately. He has stated how it is unnecessary and unwise to accept the recommendations of the Commission and how the policy of employing a larger number of Europeans in the services, as recommended by the

Commission, is opposed to the natural and legal rights of the people.

The Andhrachandrika, of the 8th February, says:-

The Public Services Commission.

The report of the public Services Commission has thrown everybody into sorrow and has blighted all hopes. Our rulers are anxious about the war and under such circumstances we should not make any representations to our rulers. But can we give up representing our grievances? Our rulers prevented the other day Mr. Wadia from delivering a lecture. Such troubles they have from us. Not only shoudl we pray for swaraj, but the Government also should take compassion on us. If the gods of our rulers are not kind to us, we cannot get swaraj.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th February, refers to the speech of Mrs. Besant on the report of the Public Services Commission and says:- The Commission have through their report recommended to His Majesty the King-Emperor that the Charter Act of 1832 and the sacred pledges of Queen Victoria and her Royal successors should be violated. Mrs. Besant said that these holy pledges have been torn as so many useless scraps of paper and thrown on the face of the members of parliament and at the feet of the sovereign, and asked whether there could be anything more horrible than this. Referring to the statement of the Commission that the railways, the canals, the roads, and the Post and Telegraph offices are so many indications of the advancement of the country, she said what the opinion

of Mr. Gokhale was on it. All this chiefly tended to secure the stability of the Government rather than the advancement of the people. It is the impression of the Commission that the British trade will be safe in the hands of the British. Mrs. Besant asked that if that were so, is it not necessary that the welfare of the thirty crores of Indians should be in the hands of Indians? From the beginning to the end, the Commissioners tried their best to recommend as little reduction as possible in the number of English officials. Justice Abdur Rahim's suggestion was to bring as small a number of men as possible from England. It is therefore not strange that he wrote a separate report . . . . .English boys of nineteen years of age who have not received University education are sent to this country and are made before they reach thirty, rulers of districts, and judges with power to pass death sentences. These rulers have no connection with the Indians and no sympathy for them. There is nowhere else than in India such a perverse state of things. Mrs. Besant said sarcastically that the great good that this country has derived from the report is that the Commissioners have shown great kindness to poor India by recommending an increase of 42 lakhs of rupees per annum in the salaries paid to English officials.

Condition of the Indian Coolies in the Malay States.

48. Referring to an article contributed by a correspondent to the Penang Gazette, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th January, observes:--It is

needless for us to speak about the opinions expressed by him on the condition of the coolies in the Malay States. But he says in conclusion that it seems that both the Commissioners are satisfied with the result of their enquiry. Have the Commissioners given publicity to their views before sending up their report to the Government? If so, it is a regrettable thing.

Government officers and Mr. Curtis.

50. Referring to the questions asked in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces regarding the relations between the officers of that Government and Mr. Curtis, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th January, says:- We learn that the Lieutenant-Governor has replied to these questions by saying that he has been acting in accordance with the views of the Government of India. But it is not known whether that Government has replied to the several important questions asked. Certain English travellers who come to India are clever in seeking to find grounds for the prejudiced notions already entertained by them, or drawing inferences from partial inquiries, and when they return to England, they force their views upon the public there. It is therefore necessary that the suspicion should not be created in the minds of the Indians that the Government officers lend their support in any way to such narrow ~~vice~~ views. We therefore look forward to what further explanation the Government of the United Provinces may give so as to remove this suspicion.

Referring to the opinion of the Statesman that no importance need be attached to the letter of Mr. Curtis, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 14th February, remarks:- If Mr. Curtis has to be dismissed like this, why did Sir James Meston and Mr. Morris respect his opinions and how did he happen to get reception in the Government House? The Statesman has to ascertain how it came about that Sir James Meston sang his praises in the Legislative Council and that his private letters were printed in the Government Press.

Mr. Curtis.

52. The United Church Herald, for February, has the following note in English:- "The Indian National Congress was notable for its demand for self-government for India at an early date. There is no doubt that the educated classes of India are feeling very strongly on this subject, and that in the very near future it will be necessary for Government to make a considerable advance in the direction asked for. At the same time it remains true that Government cannot without stultifying itself place the destinies of the people of this country in the hands of a Legislature, which would be drawn almost entirely from one class of the population, a class as able as it is exclusive. We have many opportunities of speaking with educated members of the other classes, and while there is a general desire for a larger share of self-government, there is a widespread fear that the twice-born caste will make use of every concession

Self-government.

for its own advantage rather than for the good of India. It cannot be said that this fear is unreasonable in view of the past and the present action of members of the class referred to.

62. The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th January, says under this heading:-

Post war Reforms.

Authority entirely rests in the hands of the rulers. The rulers carry out administrative reforms being pressed by the people. Mere representations could not bring about the required results. Nothing came out of the resolutions of the Congress regarding the unbearable condition of the Indians in the Colonies. The policy of passive resistance adopted by Mr. Gandhi yielded good results. That the resolutions moved by our representatives in the Legislative Councils could not meet with the approval of the Councils is evidenced by what happened in the Madras Legislative Council recently.

67. The Andhrapatrika, of the 14th February, reports the London Spectator to have written thus:-

The Indians and the English.

The English who are devoting their lives to service in India have to recognise it to be their duty to promote social relationship between the Indians and the English. The lower sort of the English people who have nothing to be proud of except their white skin, serve, out of race prejudice, as so many evil spirits to that country. This is one reason why a great number of high appointments should be conferred on the Indians.

An Englishman belonging to the Calcutta English Trades Association who sees justice being administered by an Indian Judge on the High Court Bench, will not behave so mischievously.

71. The Desabhimani, of the 4th February, reproduces the article under this heading

The Fiji Islands; A great sin.

from the Kistnapatrika, of the 27th January, abstracted on page 290 of the report for the week ending 3rd February 1917.

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